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THE PATRIOTIC PARTY

VERSUS

THE COSMOPOLITE PARTY;

OR, IN OTHER WORDS,

RECIPROCAL FREE TRADE,

VERSUS

IRRECIPROCAL FREE TRADE:

FROM THE WRITINGS OF
ISAAC BUCHANAN,

FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE OF TORONTO AND HAMILTON, C. W., AND MEMBER FOR TORONTO, THE THEN METROPOLIS, IN THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF UNITED CANADA; AND OTHER CORRESPONDENTS OF THE "BRITISH COLONIST," PUBLISHED AT TORONTO.

"FAR FROM HOLDING OBJECTIONS TO REAL *BONA FIDE* FREE TRADE, WE CANNOT SUPPOSE ANY ENGLISHMAN IN HIS SENSES OBJECTING TO IT, SEEING THAT UNDER *BONA FIDE* FREE TRADE, ENGLAND, AS BEING POSSESSED NOT ONLY OF MOST CAPITAL BUT MOST INDUSTRY, MUST HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OVER ALL THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH."—
From Mr. Buchanan's statement of Protectionist views, at the opening of the Imperial Parliament, in January, 1847.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Publishers of the following collection have in view to shew, that the great end of Government (the employment of the working classes and their elevation), cannot be attained but by the creation of a patriotic, native, or practical party, to oppose the cosmopolite, foreign or theoretical doctrines, which have become fashionable lately. They hope, however, this will not be viewed as a party thing, for the principles of the *British Colonist* remain free as they have ever been, from any leaning

to men, farther than they have been viewed, as the best instruments of practical patriotism. They understand that individual to be a patriot who makes two blades of corn grow where only one grew before, and who secures to the grower the *greatest price*, which can be permanent, or in other words, which is consistent with the general prosperity of the country.

Toronto, April, 1848.

Copy of a Despatch from Governor-General the Earl of Cathcart, K. C. B., to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
Montreal, January 28th, 1846.

SIR,—My attention having been very earnestly called, by the members of the Executive Council of this Province, to the apprehensions they have been led to entertain, by discussions which have recently appeared in the English newspapers, pointing strongly to a change in the Corn Laws, I am induced at their earnest desire, even with no better foundation, to bring the subject under your consideration by the mail which leaves this night, as the opportunities for communication at this season are so unfrequent, as to produce inconvenient delays.

The Province of Canada is so vitally interested in the question, that it is a duty of the Executive of the Province to urge on the consideration of Her Majesty's Ministers, a full statement of the necessity of continuing protection, to the colonial trade in wheat and flour, and of the effect of any changes by which the protection hitherto given would be taken away.

The improvement of the internal communications by water in Canada, was undertaken on the strength of the advantage of exporting to England our surplus wheat and flour by Quebec. Should no such advantage exist, the revenue of the Province to be derived from the tolls would fail. The means of the Province to pay principal and interest on the debt guaranteed by England would be diminished, and the general prosperity of the Province would be so materially affected, as to reduce its revenue derived from Commerce, thus rendering it a possible case, that the guarantee given to the public creditors, would have to be resorted to by them for the satisfaction of their claims.

The larger portion, nearly all of the surplus produce of Canada, is grown in the western part of it; and if an enactment similar in principle to the Duties Drawback Law, should pass Congress, permitting Canadian produce to pass through the United States for shipment,

and the English market was open to produce shipped from American ports, on as favourable terms as if shipped from Canadian ports, the larger portion of the exports of Upper Canada would find its way through the canals of the state of New-York, instead of those of Canada, rendering the St. Lawrence canals comparatively valueless. The effect of the Duties Drawback Law has been to transfer the purchase of sugar, tea, and many other goods to New-York, from whence nearly all of these articles for the supply of Upper Canada are now imported.

Should such a change in the export of Canadian produce take place, it will not only injure the Canadian canal and forwarding trade, but also the shipping interest engaged in carrying these articles from Montreal.

A change in the Corn Laws, which would diminish the price the Canadian farmers can now obtain, would greatly affect the consumption of British manufactures in the Province, which must depend on the means of the farmers to pay for them. An increased demand and consumption has been very perceptible for the last two years, and is mainly attributable to the flourishing condition of the agricultural population of Upper Canada.

Even if a relaxation of the system of protection to the colonies is to be adopted, it is of infinite consequence that it should not be sudden. The ruin that such a proceeding would cause, is incalculable.

The political consequences as to the government of the colony involved in the foregoing suggestions, are sufficiently obvious (viz.—alienation from the Mother Country, and annexation to our rival and enemy, the United States), as also must be those arising from the trade of Upper Canada, being as it were transferred from Montreal to New-York. This latter consideration belongs, however, less to the operation of the Corn Laws, though partially connected with that branch of the subject.

I trust the importance of these observations will form a sufficient apology for my intrud-

ing them upon you at this time ; but as the subject to which they refer will, in all probability, engage the early attention of the British Parliament, I have thought it right that you should have some previous knowledge of the bearing any such measure would have on the interests of this colony.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) CATHCART.

MEMORANDUM TRANSMITTED FROM
NEW YORK BY MR. ISAAC BUCH-
ANAN, TO MOST OF THE INFLU-
ENTIAL POLITICIANS IN ENG-
LAND.

NEW YORK, 1 December, 1847.

By the arrivals from the West Indies I see that the Planters are up in arms, as might reasonably be expected, against the English Navigation Laws, and if I mistake not, the dissatisfaction expressed at the general condition into which Sir Robert Peel's Free Trade has plunged the Sugar Colonies, will soon take the form of disaffection. I am satisfied that looking only to their material interests, the sooner the West Indies become a part of the United States the better, and when I add to this the horror which as a Colonist, I myself feel, at having my interests liable to be *played with*, by such men as are now called Statesmen in England, I scarcely see the possibility, of any of England's Colonies in the Western Hemisphere, being long retained by her, although the Queen has not at this moment more loyal subjects, or subjects who would struggle so much or so effectually for the integrity of the Empire, if they were not abused.

It becomes then a vital question, how to save the Colonies to England? This is vital as regards the interests and feelings of the Colonists, for they are still satisfied that they could be better off attached to England, and they would be proud to remain so, but it is an infinitely greater and more vital question, as it affects the artificial millions in England, if, as I believe sincerely, England's *only* chance of anything approaching Free Trade, is in extension of Empire. My firm persuasion is that the same blockheadism among our Peel and Whig Statesmen that has all but lost England her Colonies, has even more nearly brought the mother country herself, into a condition of the most fearful social convulsion, any country ever experienced either in ancient or modern times; and I see clearly that a remedy could not now be attained by simply a retrograde movement from Free Trade. Politicians have so debauched the Public mind, which they found weak from the depressed and dependent circumstances of the working classes, that the Public would not have patience (indeed they could not afford to have patience,) till a *gradual* revival is effected. It is only the consumers in England that are rich. The labouring men are so dependent that a temporary

cessation of employment is death to their families. Besides, the change to a principle of *selfishness for our own labouring classes*, or protection, we must at once get the foreign exchanges turned, or do away with gold being necessary to the currency, otherwise we can have no confidence and little trade—we cannot do the former. (We cannot turn the exchange.) We must therefore do the latter. Delay is death to thousands of the labouring classes, and death too I am firmly of opinion to every institution of England, not excepting the Crown!

I leave to others what appears to me the dangerous policy of not speaking out the truth, or what they believe to be the truth, on the subject of England's prospects. In a paper published in the Newspapers at Home, at the opening of last session of Parliament headed "*New British Colonial System*," I showed what I then believed and still think ought to be done. From that paper I quote the following details.

[Here follows the proposition for a great British Free Trade League, or Zollverein, which any nation could at any time join, by agreeing to reciprocate. THIS WE GIVE BELOW. See fifteenth page.*]

But I have expressed above my opinion, *now to be, that more is now wanted to save England*, for under Sir R. Peel's Currency Bill of 1819 it would be a long time before we could get the foreign exchanges turned in our favour and until they are so, England's Banking system is practically like a clock that has run down. I therefore view it to be vital that we animate into active and permanent existence, England's banking system, (the life's blood of her trade and her means of employing her population,) in the only way this can be done, viz: *making gold not necessary in the circulation*. The issue of One Pound Notes sufficiently secured, but not payable in gold, would at once restore confidence and give the country time to breathe, till the *homely principles of protection to native labour*, which I advocate, have time to develop themselves, which (I would stake my existence on it,) they would do more and more, till every industrious man could make sure of permanent employment, which I would view *an infinitely greater glory to England, than the increase of hundreds of millions*, to the overgrown capitals of the upper classes or capitalists, which under Sir Robert Peel's Bill of 1819, are formed into a *class of middle men*, sucking the heart's blood of the industries as much or more than the middle men by whom Ireland is cursed. Capitalists, in fact, in England are by Sir Robert Peel's bill of 1819, converted into a curse to the country instead of being the greatest benefactors of her industry.

The chief practical danger arises from Parliament's ignorance of the question of currency, and Sir R. Peel being attacked on his bills of 1844 and 1845, the restrictions of which I would retain as most wholesome, allowing a small amount of paper to be a legal tender, but

contracting its issues at present. Sir Robert Peel will have an easy victory over his opponents, *because they raise the wrong question*, and England before another Parliament can be got together, will have been the scene of bloodshed, for men cannot be expected to starve, or at all events they will not see their families starved, and still remain quiet.

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

P. S. It is either gross ignorance of the subject of the currency, or grosser iniquity for men to pretend that by a paper circulation, you must necessarily depreciate the currency. You of course will have the Bank Note less valuable than the Sovereign, at all times when the foreign exchanges are against England, *which will be continually under a free trade system*; but, you will have at such times, labour and every other property in the country, equally depreciated. These are now so. The object is to see that the note is not depreciated as compared with (is at par with in fact) the general commodities. At present, the note being equal to gold (which is in demand and therefore scarce,) buys too many days or hours of the poor man's labour, and leaves his family beggars. The note may be retained at par, with land or any other property, (except gold at a fixed price,) in the following way, as I have so often before detailed.

"Having made the note of the Bank of England a legal tender everywhere but at the Bank Counter, give the Bank the choice of offering as a legal tender its notes, endorsed by the Government, to the extent of (the public debt to the Bank) fourteen millions, on condition that no such issue be made, without having a Sovereign in the Bank to represent each pound note given out."

I would bind the Bank never to hold less than ten millions of Specie, but I would double the Bank's capital. The paper in such case would be a certificate of deposit of gold, but the holder could not get it except at the market price. I WOULD NOT MAKE THE LEAST CHANGE IN THE LAW, beyond what the above indicates, for I view the retention of Sir R. Peel's restrictions of 1844 and 1845, nearly as vital as the sweeping away of his gold standard of 1819. In this I differ from most currency Reformers, but, these are generally free traders, whom consistency makes oppose the truth, and the word "*Patriotism*" I fear, is wanting in the dictionary of Free-Thinkers or Cosmopolites, in commercial as well as religious matters, whose practical infidelity leads them to believe in no system (chaos) instead of to propose better systems. They believe in fact in nothing (!) that exists or ever will exist. Such men were easily kept under by Sir Robert Peel, while he stood on the rock of the principles he formerly professed. Alas that he should not have understood that it was never admitted by these principles that by a man's debasing himself and debauching his associates, he could by possibility save his country, a country of whose character he was the consti-

tutional expression to the world, and whose Government never asked for support except to the extent it was an embodiment of what is right.

My patriot countryman Fletcher, understood things better, and of him it is recorded that "*He would lose his life to serve Scotland, but, would not do a base thing to save her.*"

REMARKS ON FREE TRADE.

From the British Colonist, July 7th, 1846.

It appears, from the debates in the Imperial Parliament, and recent remarks of some of our contemporaries in this province, that considerable misapprehension exists in relation to the action taken during the late session, by the Canadian Legislature, on the question of the proposed alterations in the English corn laws.

For some time before the session of the Provincial Legislature was opened, the intention of the Imperial Government, to effect by the aid of Parliament very important changes in the corn laws, was publicly known; and accordingly, on the 28th January last, Earl Cathcart addressed his celebrated despatch to the Colonial Secretary, deprecating such changes generally in the interest of Canada. This despatch was written by the advice of the Executive Council of the province, the members of which entertained the most serious apprehensions as to the effect the proposed changes would produce on the interests committed to their care. It was this despatch that called forth, from the Colonial Department, Mr. Gladstone's celebrated despatch (No. 32), dated 3rd March, 1846, in which he informs the Governor General of the intentions of the Imperial Government, in relation to the corn and timber duties. The publication of this last despatch, in Canada, caused the greatest possible sensation. The people were taken completely by surprise; and as they considered that the Government measure would, without doubt, be hurried through its different stages in the Imperial Parliament, with the utmost despatch, they regarded remonstrance from the colony as of no avail, and contented themselves with quietly submitting to what they conceived they had not the power to avert. Had the inhabitants of Canada the remotest idea, that so much time would have elapsed between the introduction of the measure and its final disposal by the Imperial Parliament,—had they the slightest hope that the time was sufficient to enable them to be heard in either house of parliament, during the progress of the measure,—instead of the sullen silence which they have observed, they would have assembled in their respective townships, counties and districts, and united with one voice in unanimously adopting petitions to the Crown and Parliament, praying to be treated with that degree of special favor which their peculiar circumstances demand, and which as colonists they are, by every principle of equity and justice, entitled to exact

over the foreigner. It may be that those petitions might have had very little importance attached to them, if sent home. They might be replied to in a similar manner to the answer transmitted to the Hamilton Board of Trade,—but although they might not influence the government in the prosecution of its course, in carrying its favorite measure through the parliament, they would at least have had the effect of shielding the Canadian people from misrepresentation, in either house, and of placing before the public what their real sentiments are on the very important point at issue.

It becomes matter of less surprise that the silence of the Canadian people has been construed into willing consent, when we find that the openly declared sentiments of the Legislative Assembly of the Province, have been wilfully and perversely misinterpreted and misapplied. In each and every of the addresses of the Legislative Assembly, on the corn question, which were transmitted to London during the late session, the contemplated changes, so far as they relate to this province, were not only not acquiesced in but strongly deprecated. These addresses were of course confined to an expression of opinion as to the probable effect which the measure would have on those interests which it was the peculiar duty of the Legislative Assembly to watch over and protect. They were not even treated with common fairness by the home government. They were used for purposes diametrically opposed to those for which they were avowedly intended. The sentiments conveyed in Lord Cathcart's despatch of 28th January, are emphatically the sentiments of the great body of the people of the province; and had that despatch been laid before the Assembly, on 26th March last, along with that of Mr. Gladstone, in reply to it, we do not entertain the shadow of a doubt, but that the address of the Legislative Assembly to the Queen, which was on that day (26th March) adopted, in reference to the corn duties, would have echoed every sentence which Lord Cathcart's despatch contains. We can, however, conceive adequate reasons for not laying his Excellency's despatch before the legislature at that time.

In addressing the Assembly on 26th March, the members of the Executive Government were fully aware of the terms of the despatch which, by their advice, the Governor General had sent to England on 28th January; and instead of asking the Assembly to concur in an address containing sentiments entirely similar to those contained in that despatch, they sought merely the concurrence of that body in an address to the Queen, deprecating the proposed changes, and praying her Majesty, in the event of their being finally made, to admit Canadian flour at a nominal duty of 1d. per quarter, instead of 1s., as proposed in Sir Robert Peel's measure. Can it be believed that this very address was used by her Majesty's government in England, to show that

the Canadian Assembly actually concurred in the proposed corn measure; that the only alteration they desired in it, was the admission of their own products at the lowest nominal duty; and that they dissented from the terms of Lord Cathcart's despatch,—a despatch which, at that time, the Assembly had not even seen! Such conduct is paltry in the extreme; but it was soon detected. Whatever may be the result of the measure, the colony owes much to Lord Stanley, Lord George Bentinck and others, who stood boldly forward in defence of their cause in this hour of need.

But although the home government endeavoured to misrepresent the feelings of the legislature and people of Canada, in reference to the address of the Assembly of the 26th March, and to put that address forward as a disavowal on the part of the Assembly of the sentiments contained in Lord Cathcart's despatch of 28th January, already referred to, it did not avail much. For while Earl Dalhousie was making the attempt in the House of Lords, the second Address, adopted by the Assembly of Canada on 12th May, had reached London. Its arrival created quite a sensation; and it was brought to light by the watchfulness of Lord George Bentinck, in the House of Commons, and by the diligence of the leading journals, more particularly the *London Standard*, to the no small disappointment of the government.

The conduct of Mr. Gladstone, in withholding from the Earl of Dalhousie all knowledge of that Address, when his lordship was entrusted with the care of the government measure in the House of Lords, cannot be regarded in any other light than as being highly reprehensible; for had Lord Dalhousie been put in possession of that address, when moving the second reading of the corn bill, his lordship would have been spared the disagreeable exposure which has resulted from its concealment; and he would, moreover, have abstained from alleging the concurrence of the Canadian Legislature in a measure to which they were notoriously deeply opposed.

It will be remembered that the address to which we have reference is the one brought forward by Mr. Robinson, when the intelligence had reached the province of the corn bill having been postponed for some weeks, in the House of Commons, to admit of the Irish Coercion Bill being taken up. The time thus allowed was very appropriately availed of by the Canada Assembly, and the address in question adopted and transmitted to England. Instead of concurring in Sir Robert Peel's measure, the Assembly, in this address, attribute the happiness and prosperity of the people of Canada, advancing in steady and successful progression, to the moderate system of protection afforded to her staple commodities—grain and lumber; and they view with serious apprehension and alarm, as detrimental to the best interests of the colony, the adoption of the proposed principle of commercial intercourse, now under the consideration of the

Imperial Parliament. Without giving the address more in detail (which our readers can see in full in the *British Colonist* of 22nd May 1846), we make the following extract from it, to show the coincidence of opinion which existed between the Assembly and Lord Cathcart, as contained in his lordship's despatch of 28th January,—although that despatch had not, at that time, been known to the Assembly. The following is the extract :

"It therefore becomes our duty, as faithful subjects of your Majesty, to point out what we sincerely believe must be the result of measures which have for their object the repeal of the laws affording protection to the Canadian export trade. First, it will discourage those at present engaged in agricultural pursuits, from extending their operations; secondly, it will prevent the influx of respectable emigrants from the mother country, who have for many years past settled in large numbers on the waste lands in the Province, and who by their industry and capital, have materially contributed to that happy advancement of the country which we have before noticed; and, lastly, it is much to be feared that should the inhabitants of Canada, from the withdrawal of all protection to their staple products, find that they cannot compete with their neighbours of the United States, in the only market open to them, they will naturally, of necessity, begin to doubt whether remaining a portion of the British empire will be of that paramount advantage which they have hitherto found it to be. These, we humbly submit, are considerations of grave importance, both to your Majesty and to the people of this Province; and we trust we need not assure your Majesty that any changes which would tend in the remotest degree to weaken the ties that have for so many years, and under trying circumstances, bound the people of Canada to that land which they are proud to call their mother country, would be viewed as the greatest misfortune which could befall them."

It will be seen that the Governor General and the Executive Council of this province have, throughout the whole progress of the business relating to the proposed changes, done all in their power to secure for this colony, under the circumstances, the greatest advantages; that after applying to their superiors with but little prospect of success, the measures which they proposed and carried in the Provincial Parliament, were those merely which were imposed upon them by necessity, and from the peculiar circumstances of the case, depending for their validity upon the contingency of the proposed imperial act becoming law. Whatever the result may be, the government and Parliament of Canada are not responsible for it; and however gloomy, in the eyes of many, the future prospect may be, the people must learn to depend entirely and exclusively on their own exertions, and to make up by individual and combined energy and enterprise, what they are likely to be deprived of in the way of legislative protection. The Parliament may take away all protection; it may impose taxes and burdens; but it cannot deprive us of our fine soil and climate, our splendid water communications and other

great sources of wealth, which require but perseverance and energy alone for their proper development. It is quite proper to resist, by every constitutional means, our being deprived of advantages apparent or real, which we may already possess; but, once deprived of them by lawful authority, it were abject folly to give way to despondency. Instead of that, it is just the time for redoubled energy—for tracing out new sources of industry and improvement, to make up for the losses sustained, and to increase as much as possible our material wealth. Let this be the case henceforward in Upper Canada, and the industrious will surely meet with their due reward.

THE EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE ON THE EMPIRE.

From the British Colonist of the 7th July, 1846.

We intended at first to review the provincial legislative proceedings on the customs' act, separately, and without reference to the general question of protection or free trade; but on further reflection, we found that any remarks on local legislation, would be insignificant, unless accompanied with a distinct and full appreciation of the principles contended for, and a faithful estimate of the consequences likely to accrue from their adoption. The free-trade proceedings of the Canadian legislature, stand to the general question of free trade in the relation of a part to the whole. The investigation of a part can furnish no just conception of the characteristics of all the parts combined, any more than a whole viewed in its entirety, is capable of affording a knowledge of the specific properties of a part; so that the contrast between the St. Lawrence and Erie canal navigation, expressed in one of Mr. Gladstone's despatches and echoed by Mr. Cayley and Mr. Draper, and the views of Canadian protection and reciprocity contained in the addresses of the House of Assembly, are only minute fractions of the general question. In every process of inquiry, we proceed according to some rule or standard of comparison, and square our notions according to the extent of our knowledge. The protectionist or free trader who conscientiously disdains to measure the arguments of his antagonist, commits no greater error than he who takes a part of the subject for the whole subject, or mistakes the question altogether. It is therefore necessary to go over the whole groundwork of protection and free-trade, and put ourselves in possession of general views, general principles, and general facts, before proceeding to criticise what was said or done during the last session of the provincial legislature. It is only by a comprehensive digest of the whole subject, that we can become competent to pass a correct opinion on any particular part. A machinist surveys the whole machine, a physician the whole body, before he undertakes the repair

of that portion which is deranged. The common method of proceeding, however, in speculative politics, is to take any particular measure, and dress it up according to the taste of the critic. Mr. Cayley's resolutions, for example, are thus proclaimed to be good or bad, just as they happen to coincide, or not, with any particular set of notions, in the same way that to a diseased palate a substance appears sweet or sour without reference to its saccharine or acideferous properties. It must be evident to all who have discernment to distinguish between a particular fact, and a general fact deduced from a series of particular facts, that the value of any opinion is exactly in proportion to the degree in which it corresponds with views that are based on practical knowledge, and accord with sound theory. Now, a general fact cannot be deduced without first classifying the particular facts, neither can any set of opinions be presumed to be correct, before that it has been submitted to a comparison, with the practical views of standard authorities and the principles of science. It would be supererogatory to ask the question—have those who busy themselves most in the present free trade movement, taken the necessary trouble to inform themselves sufficiently on the subject, to consult standard writers and eminent statesmen, and finally, to classify and arrange the arguments for and against their opinions, so as to be able to strike a satisfactory balance either in favour of protection or of free trade? It is well known that this general view of the question, is seldom entertained. But as it indicates the only proper mode which ought to be pursued, and the only means by which it is possible to arrive at the truth, we have made it preliminary to a review of the last sessional proceedings of the provincial legislature.

It may be proper, before entering on the proposed summary, to notice, that the passage of the present measure of Sir Robert Peel into a law, will by no means detract from the necessity and importance of still pressing on the public mind, the propriety of a more extended information. The entire repeal of agricultural protection will not take place until the expiry of three years; so that a considerable period is allowed before that any decided effect can be produced by the operation of the new tariff. This is a wise provision, and there is every reason to calculate that before the three years expire, there will be a powerful and wholesome reaction in favour of the old protective system. Let us not forget that France had once a Sully, who fostered her agricultural at the expense of her manufacturing industry; and subsequently a Colbert who reversed the preference, and directed all the national energies into false channels, for the purpose of augmenting her manufacturing resources and commercial enterprise. But after having experienced both extremes, and flitted her day of political madness in two opposite directions, France has long since returned to her former sound sense, in this

particular at least; and not only adheres more tenaciously now to the principle of protection, but admits of no preference between agriculture and manufactures as distinct interests. Let us hope that so it will be with ourselves, and that when our manufacturers and merchants find that, notwithstanding the profuse liberality of the new tariff, British manufactured goods are still precluded from the markets of Germany, France, Belgium, and the United States, and are supplanted in Brazil, they will reconsider the nature of protection, will become awake to the value of a principle that they are now incapable of appreciating, and hastily retrace their present course. All the circumstances connected with the present movement conspire to make this anticipation the more plausible. Besides an experiment is necessary. People generally understand actual occurrences, or what comes within the cognizance of the senses, better than mathematical certainties, however clearly or logically stated. It is too abstract a process to deduce a result from given facts. Things must be seen and felt to make an impression. It is thus that the history of a political constitution is a history of measures enacted and repealed, of blunders and corrections, of revolutionary movements at one time in one direction, and at another period in a direction the very opposite. This contrariness is a characteristic of legislation and government. It is occasioned by the antagonism of party tactics, and the pertinacious and unreflecting character of partizans and political leaders. In a popular form of government, no shuffle of the political cards can take place, without impressing a fresh contradiction on its administrative functions and legislative acts. If, then, it is necessary that public opinion on the subject of protection and free-trade, should oscillate between two extremes, before arriving at a medium, it is reasonable to hope that the issue of the present movement, will be a return to sounder views than have hitherto prevailed. We have had our day of undue agricultural protection, and we are now about to try the other extreme of protection to manufactures exclusively. Sully was wrong, and so was Colbert; but their error consisted in sacrificing alternately one national interest to another by undue preferences. France never exhibited during any period of her history, madness so great, as to prostrate the national industry to advantage foreigners. The present position of Great Britain is unparalleled. But in order to comprehend the multiplicity and magnitude of the consequences involved, and to be able to pass a correct judgment on the general question at issue we shall now enumerate the weighty considerations that have been adduced by standard authorities in political economy, in favour of protection; and contrast these with the absolute blank which exists, on the other side, and the destitution of a single argument, that can stand the test of impartial examination, or quadrate with established scientific truths. The objections to irreciprocal

free trade are based on the consequences that flow from it. These consequences are—

1st. *Extreme and sudden fluctuations in the price of food.*—According to the pigny notions of the free trade advocates, bread would be cheap. How does this comport with the statesmanlike argument of Mr. Huskisson, in which the contingencies of seasons, and the caprices of the governments of corn-growing countries are taken into account? Mr. Huskisson proved clearly and satisfactorily, that in seasons when corn would be scarce both in Great Britain and in the corn-growing countries of Europe, these countries would prohibit, as they had uniformly done, its exportation; and in providing for their own necessities, would leave the British to encounter all the horrors of famine. And that, when the harvest would be equally abundant at home and abroad, the foreign surplus would be shipped for the British market, to depress it still more, while no British corn would be admitted into any foreign port. Thus we have one source of extreme fluctuations in the contingency of seasons, coupled with the caprices or necessities of foreign governments. But there is also to be included the great power that would be acquired, by dexterous speculators, to play at hazard with the wants and necessities of honest industry. And also the risk of prohibition in the event of war. All which causes, would raise and depress the price of food, so suddenly, and to such extreme degrees, as to occasion great national suffering, and in many instances very serious political consequences.

2nd. *Reduction of the nominal and real price of labour.*—It is no secret that the motive which the great manufacturing capitalists have, in desiring a repeal of the corn laws, and the object that prompted them to join the corn law league and to participate in the demagogue cry of “cheap bread,” is to reduce the real price of labour, so as they may be enabled at the expense of the bones and sinews, and hungry bellies, and ragged garments of the labouring class, to compete with foreign countries in the production of cheap manufactured goods. Now the price of labour bears a strict relation to the mode of living. In England, the mode of living, owing to the competition of machinery, is in a downward tendency. Here is a fact preceded by a general rule applicable to that fact. By extending its application, some very satisfactory results may be obtained. If the price of labour is proportioned to the mode of living of the labouring class, then any circumstances that will reduce the price of the same mode of living, will also operate to reduce the price of labour. This, observe, is the calculation made by the capitalists. But they stop here; they go no farther. They are satisfied if they can only succeed in reducing the real price of labour, so that cotton can be spun, woven, bleached and printed, cheap enough to enable them to make fortunes for themselves and families, by underselling foreign competitors. However, the downward tendency of wages does not stop here. Though

the price of labour falls with the fall in the price of food, it does not again rise when food becomes dearer. It is, on the contrary, kept down. These results may appear at first view to contradict the rule of supply and demand. But the improvements and inventions of machinery, with the influx of the Irish agricultural population into the manufacturing districts of England and Scotland must henceforth and permanently, by supplanting manual labour and increasing the supply proportionally diminish the demand for it. The price of labour, when once reduced by such permanent operating causes, is afterwards kept down; and it is clear that when depreciated to the lowest minimum rate at which it is capable of sustaining the labourer and his family, the occasional scarcities that would be consequent on our dependence on foreign supplies, would produce at intervals of frequent occurrence scenes of the most heart-rending distress,—as wages could not fluctuate upwards to adapt themselves to the enhanced price of food, but would remain at their former nominal, but in these altered circumstances, greatly reduced value. It is to protect the labouring class against these frightful exigencies that protection is desirable, and to keep labour at a permanently enhanced value, by regulating the price of food, that corn laws are considered to be the most important of all the laws that protect national industry.

3rd. *It sends gold out of the country.* A drain of the precious metals for the purpose of exportation, constrains the Banks to curtail their business; and the consequence is, commercial panics, in which capital, labour and credit, are merged in one common vortex of ruin.

4th. *Dependence on foreign countries for supplies of food.*—There can be no stronger argument against irreciprocal free trade, than this dependence, probably on our enemies for the staple article of subsistence. The scarcity and famine prices during the last war, should warn us against committing future mistakes. We have surely not forgotten the Berlin decrees. This is an argument on which the free traders often stumble. And how do they get over it? Take an example from the speech of the Earl of Dalhousie in the House of Lords on the 25th May:—

“From the year 1312 to the year 1814, England was at war with the United States, the country from which we derived immeasurably the largest proportion of our supply of cotton. Was there any stoppage of the importation into England of this article, because of the hostilities? Far from it. (Hear, hear.) And a like result in tea was experienced during the Chinese war. And yet noble lords were in terror at the prospect of the corn laws being repealed, fearing lest, if we depended for a supply of food on foreign countries, our population might be left to starve. (Hear, hear.)”

Such sophistry as that displayed by this free-trade champion is too palpable. Every old woman in the country knows the difference, in time of war, between a scarcity of

tea or cotton, and that of bread. And any school boy can tell how a garrison may be reduced by want of bread; but it would puzzle him to make out how cotton or tea could be concerned in bringing about such an event.

5th. It creates and puts in motion a mass of human labour and machinery that cannot be kept in constant employment.

6th. It endangers the health and morals of the people, by congregating human beings in large masses, and thereby exposing them to promiscuous and vicious intercourse, and the mortality of epidemic and contagious diseases.

7th. It disproportions the burdens of taxation on fixed incomes and labour.

8th. It severs the natural bonds of colonial allegiance.

9th. It employs foreign ships, consequently foreign seamen, and transfers the labour required in building and outfit, to foreign countries.

10th. It will break down the wooden walls of Old England, and build up those of our enemies.

These are some of the consequences. I do not pretend that we have done justice to the enumeration of them, for they are hurriedly thrown together. But each contains matter for a separate volume, and food sufficient to occupy profitably the cogitative faculties of some who have lent their influence to the present movement, without having first calculated the risks, or made themselves acquainted with the merits of the general question, and the several points at issue.

We must defer the contrast for a subsequent article.

LOSS OF THE COLONIES OF ENGLAND.

From the Scotch Reformers' Gazette of April 11th, 1846. Published also in the Manchester Guardian, and in many of the principal Papers in the United Kingdom and the Colonies.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

GLASGOW, 8th April, 1846.

SIR,—As in your article on Saturday (*Foreign and Colonial Trade*) you grievously misrepresent the views, against out-and-out free trade, which I have put forth in the *Scotch Reformers' Gazette*, I hope you will not refuse me the privilege of setting myself right with the readers of the *Guardian*.

Allow me to say, that there is not a man in England whose sympathies are more with the working classes than mine are; indeed, I have always held, that the other classes or orders in such a society as ours, are only a public benefit to the extent that, directly or indirectly, they are of use and assistance to those who labour for their bread.

My objection to the principle of Sir Robert Peel's legislation, is that he regards the poor only as consumers, and legislates for them only in common with the rich. (How blessed the poor would be to find themselves so circumstanced.)

I am of opinion, on the contrary, (as stated in my letter in the *Reformers' Gazette* of 4th April,) that, like the Americans, the whole object of our legislation should be the benefit of those who labour.

If, then, you and I are both friends of the people, our controversy becomes the friendly and generous one of whose plan shall benefit them most.

Now, I object to what you call the principle of free trade, because I do not call it a principle or system at all, but just in trade what free-thinking is in religion, a departure from all principle or system, than which the worst possible embodiment of sincere belief is less fatal or dangerous to the community.

To Sir Robert Peel's tariff, as reducing the protection on manufactured goods, I would object still more than to the removal of protection to British and colonial corn, were it not that one of the immediate effects flowing from the latter, viz.,—the loss of the British North American Colonies—would be irremediable.

I frankly admit, however, that with free trade in manufactures, the retention of a duty on foreign corn ought not to be submitted to by the British artisan.

These measures must go together, or together be stopped.

If they pass into law, we will not only lose the trade of the colonies, but the colonies themselves; and, with them, *firstly*, our naval supremacy, and, *secondly*, Ireland.

With regard to the possibility of retaining the colonies, I defy the Colonial Minister, or any one else, to show me any bond of union between Canada and England, after free trade is introduced.

The fact is, that ignorantly governed as that colony has been by Downing-street, the loyalists will not be able to stand their ground against the republicans in Canada West, if the former are armed with no fact, in favour of the British Government; and if the monstrous principle is avowed, that England wants territory in America, not to benefit, but only to rule, or misrule it!

The Republican party in Upper Canada are all free traders, and a favourite means of getting the province free from England (by making it of no use to the mother country) used to be the pushing for free trade with the United States.

In 1836, the Lower House of the Canadian Parliament (which had then a majority of Republicans) petitioned the King on this subject, and the following remarks of my own, in the colony at the time, I happen to have preserved:—

"*Though addressed to the King, the province is evidently its intended sphere of usefulness. The petition carries to the foot of the Throne suggestions, which if acquiesced in, would leave Canada of no use to England. In fact, the repeal of our frontier duties would at once endanger the connection with England, seeing that we could expect nothing less than the repeal, as a consequence, of those laws of the United Kingdom which give our produce advantages in the home market, in return for our employing the British artisan and ship-owner. The Republicans (the present petitioners) will then triumphantly say to us, where now are all your old arguments, to show the value to our farmer of the connection?*"

In the following year (1837) the State of New York stopped specie payments, by act of the legislature, and we had thus brought before us more clearly than ever, that *even as a protection for our circulation, duties on the frontier were required, and that if free trade had existed, the only safety for the stocks of our merchants and the labour of our farmers and mechanics, (in Canada they feel as brethren), would have been to depreciate our currency also, and retain our gold, till our neighbors returned to a specie standard.*

I go into these particulars to show that *free trade between Canada and the United States, (the necessary consequence of the introduction of free trade into England), IS EQUIVALENT TO THE SEPARATION OF THE COLONY FROM ENGLAND.* The Americans will not in turn free trade with us; and having all the *disadvantages* of the trade with the United States, the natural desire of the Canadians to have the *advantages* of it too, will precipitate the annexation, sooner than the general difference between the views and habits of the Canadian and the American, would lead parties at a distance to expect it.

The loss of British America thus effected, the empire, instead of *soon being able* (through applying enlightened and active management in these colonies) to raise up a colonial trade intrinsically as valuable as all our foreign trade, will have the present colonial trade reduced to the average of the United States or about *one-fourth* the amount per head that colonists take of British goods. This is the consummation so devoutly desired by the Americans. They will tell you otherwise; but never let us forget the *sympathisers* of 1837 and 1838, nor allow ourselves to be gulled into the belief, that the hearts'-wish of every Republican, is not to see the United States possessed of Quebec, and monarchy driven from America, and *not* to see WASHINGTON's favourite project carried out, of *annexing* to their Republic the Gibraltar of our West Indian colonies, the Bermudas, to make them a nest of hornets for the annoyance of English commerce in times of trouble.

You also accuse me of ALLEGING THAT THE BRITISH ARTISAN IS THE DEPENDANT ON COLONIAL TRADE FOR THE EMPLOYMENT WHICH HE RECEIVES.

Now I allege no such absurdity, although I think that, had we for the last twenty years followed a sound and extensive system, of removing to the colonies our surplus population, this country might now have been very independent of foreign trade. WHAT I ALLEGE IS, THAT THE ONLY PERMANENT DEPENDANCE OF THE BRITISH ARTISAN IS PROSPERITY OF BRITISH AGRICULTURE, OF WHICH COLONIAL INDUSTRY IS A BRANCH. I allege, moreover, and that truthfully, that the Colonial, like the Home trade, has the only limit to its purchases of manufactures in the extent of its entire means, while Brother Jonathan, and all other foreigners, will not take English goods for *one-half* the amount even of that part of their means which they draw from England.

The following extract of my letter of 14th March, in the *Scotch Reformers' Gazette*, will show exactly the views I expressed:—

In a former number it was shown that free trade must necessarily, in its very nature, lose us the colonies, because the principle of protection abandoned, the colonial system (which is a mere branch of it) falls also, or, what is to my mind far worse (and could only last a year or two), the colonies become a drag on the empire, having ceased to benefit the mother country, in any way after they have thrown off the Imperial Parliament's right to legislate for their trade, and commenced free trade with all the world.

But I argue for the retention of the colonies only, because it is the interest of England.

I hold that it were better for England to lose her colonies, magnificent though they be, than to forbear doing anything, which is shown to be clearly in favour of the oppressed population in this country.

Though I before pointed out, that the adoption of free trade would necessarily lose the colonies, (whose markets there is no reason for us going to the expense of defending, unless our manufactures are protected there), I do not pretend to argue that, to save the colonies, for their sake alone, should prevent us adopting free trade in England, if the greater and more immediate interests of the mother country would be advantaged thereby.

Far, however, from this being the case, I view free trade as tending to reduce the extent of our own manufactures, to degrade the condition of our manufacturers, and thus to secure for the aristocracy, by-and-bye, a monopoly of political power in England, as rendering it in character more an agricultural country than at present!

In fact I view that free trade is suicide on the part of Mr. Cobden and the weavers. I cannot suppose any way by which Sir Robert Peel has secured the support of those independent members of the aristocracy, who are favourable to his measure, in the face of the scorn of their friends, and the inward contempt of their former political adversaries, and by their seeing it to be the ultimate interest of their class.

Sir Robert Peel may have shown them that,

as they individually are now able to submit to a loss, they should do so, as this would be the only means of rolling back the tide of popular feeling in politics, and securing the reduction of every interest in the country, into the narrow limit that formerly enabled them to control the government of the country.

Sir Robert Peel's measure, in fact, as he well knows, while it puts all interest down, *puts down the manufacturing interest more than any other, and will eventually make it a secondary interest in England.*

Sir Robert Peel's measure may deprive the landlords of luxuries, or even comforts, which an artificial state of society has named necessities, but the weaver will be deprived of actual employment (as a weaver): thus,

1st. The landlords who are not driven to become absentees, will not be able to pay for seventy-five per cent. (or three-fourths) the amount of goods they now take, and a large part of that diminished quantity will be foreign manufacture.

2nd. The tenants and agricultural labourers even if they take as many goods, (a thing impossible), will, like the other classes of the community, prefer some (less or more) foreign articles, and thus a falling off in the manufacture of the British article will occur; but as the British agriculturists and weavers will both have to compete with foreigners of less expensive habits or modes of life, who are, in fact, content with coarser food than the English get in workhouses, and do not require the same amount of fuel or clothing—their views in these respects must, no doubt, come down, to prevent them starving amid so cruel a competition (foreigners having the use of British markets, but not the British in foreign markets).

3rd. The colonies will, in the same way, take fewer British goods, under *free trade between each colony and all the world*, even if their means of buying were not reduced. It is self-evident, however, that, to the extent that their wheat, or their timber produces less money, they must take fewer goods.

4th. The manufacturer will not have all these deficiencies in demand, from British and hitherto favoured channels, made up to him, by a similar or greater amount of increase in the foreign demand. On the contrary, instead of increasing, the foreign demand will gradually fall off; governments abroad will, by their duties, prohibit British goods, the more they see that they can in British gold for their products, find for a few years that impulse for their domestic manufactures, which hitherto they have wanted, but which, in a few years, would not only create in an increased manufacturing population, a great enduring home market for their produce, (enduring if they don't take up free trade theories), but enable them to compete with England in other foreign markets, if not in England itself.

So that the independent aristocracy see, that though the ordeal will be a fiery one to their neighbours whose lands are in debt, and a more fiery one still to the manufacturers, or

rather weavers, the final result will assuredly be, that the landowners will be the permanently predominant and popular or powerful interest, the weavers having been one-half driven back again to the fields by want of manufacturing employment. The effect, in fact, of Sir Robert Peel's measure will be to prevent all progress in manufacturing, and reduce the whole of the interests of the country into a narrower compass, in which, in the way I have pointed out, agriculture will loom the largest, not because large, but because all other interests have been made smaller in proportion by Sir Robert Peel's liberal measure.

Without imputing improper, or rather dishonourable motives to Sir R. Peel, we assert, beyond the fear of contradiction, that at present he is the means of misleading the public mind. Toward the end of his great speech on the evening of the 16th ult., he says:—

"And suppose the tenant said, 'But this is a labourer's question?' I should answer, 'Then my good fellow, if we make this land, which now produces three quarters, produce five quarters, we shall employ more labourers. There will be a greater demand for labour, and all parties will be benefited. The estate will be benefited: the guarantee for the rent will be improved; your comfort will be increased; there will be more labour employed, and all this by the application of a little of that saving which the hon. gentleman says the rich are to derive from the tariff I introduced.' (Loud cheers.)

Those business men who cheered Sir Robert Peel knew full well, if he did not, that his remark, if true of any land, is only true of the very best land; and that showing that some lands would grow two-thirds more wheat, is just showing that the price of wheat would be so reduced with free trade, as to make it necessary to throw the poorer lands, (such as would yield no more than the present crops) into woods or grass, as being worth no rent at all for purposes of cultivation.

If the poorer lands are thrown out of cultivation, it will be impossible to make up the loss out of an increase of even two-thirds on the better lands, and there will be nothing like the means in the country to buy manufactures.

Mr. Hudson, in his speech states—

That the probable average price of corn under the new bill would be from 35s. to 40s. a quarter.

The hon. member's calculation will prove quite correct.

Let us suppose a farm now let thus—

100 acres, at £3 per acre.....	£300
Produces 300 quarters at a clear profit of 26s. 8d., equal to.....	400

Remaining to the tenant.....£100

I assume that neither tenant nor agricultural labourer will, till absolute necessity compels it, work for less than at present; and that the first brunt of this free trade in corn will come on the two extremes, the landlord and weaver.

I think that foreign competition will lead to

the following result in the case of the best lands:
The 100 acres will now be let for one-half £150

The produce will be raised 50 per cent, so that 36s. 8d. will do instead of 51s. 10d. (stated by Sir R. Peel to be the present average), 450 quarters, at 11s. 1d. clear profit..... 250

Leaving the same result to the tenant.. . £100

But take the case of land whose yield cannot be increased—

The 100 acres will be let for nothing or..... £ 66 13 4

The produce, 300 quarters, at 11s. 1d. clear profit..... 166 13 4

Leaving the same result to the tenant..... £100 0 0

The 100 acres formerly produced 300 quarters, at 51s. 10d..... 777 10 0

The 100 now produce 300 quarters at 36s. 6d..... 543 15 0

The ability of the country trade is reduced, or one-third..... £233 15 0

But the landlord could not stand by and see his property wholly sacrificed, so that his land will be forced back into grass or woods, as the colonies will be forced out of our hands by the competition of foreign corn, instead of, as Sir Robert Peel assures us, creating more employment or labour for the surplus population of the country!

You will thus see clearly my position to be, that (as it is only by their labour that the people can attain provisions) the self-evident proposition is, that no amount of "food in the country" would be of benefit to the poor if it is not paid for in British labour.

As anxious only to attain for our oppressed working classes the nearest approach to "a happy independence," I would at once give the people the ray of confidence and contentment, which would flow from their being made to feel sure, that for the future the whole object of British legislation will be, first to procure, and then to render permanent, the largest amount of employment for those who labour for their bread.

This, in reality (apart from Anti-Corn-law slang and humbug) is the greatest amount of bread for the poor.

In the now imminently artificial state of this country, I would be willing to advance to the extremest point of liberality to the foreigner, to induce a reciprocal trade with him.

I would even arrange to take his wheat on the same duty-free footing as home and colonial wheat, if the foreigner takes payment in the labour of the British artisan.

I would do this as a duty to the working classes, even if the tearing up of every treaty and parchment in existence was involved.

But for us to adopt a system that not only gives, but professes to give, our HARD MONEY TO THE FOREIGNER, TO TAKE TO THE NORTH OF EUROPE AND AMERICA, FOR THE AVOWED PUR-

POSE (A MOST SENSIBLE AND PATRIOTIC ONE ON HIS PART) OF BUILDING UP RIVAL MANUFACTURES TO THOSE OF THE BRITISH MECHANIC, AND THEN TO ADMIT THESE DUTY FREE TO COMPETE WITH OUR OWN HEAVILY-TAXED LABOUR, SEEMS TO ME TO AMOUNT TO SUICIDE ON THE PART OF BOTH THE MANUFACTURING AND AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS OF THIS COUNTRY.

I view THE FREE TRADE PROPOSED as only removing the restrictions from, and giving freedom to, the industry of foreign countries.

Far from being an encouragement to native industry, FREE TRADE PRACTICALLY DENIES THE BRITISH ARTISAN'S RIGHT TO LABOUR, BY TAKING AWAY HIS OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO.

Small though the exports to the Colonies shew in your tables, it is wonderful to me to see the amounts they are, knowing how grievously the progress of the Colonies has been neglected.

Neither the two most practical of purposes—the AMELIORATION OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE BRITISH ARTISAN, AND THE PROCURING PERMANENT MARKETS FOR OUR MANUFACTURES, through planting in our Colonies a population with British habits—have come home to governments, which have not usually been many months at a time otherwise engaged than in mere struggles for existence.

The comparative value of Home and Colonial, as compared with Foreign trade, must not be judged by mere figures.

It should be remembered that as much or more profit accrues, in the Home and Colonial trade, to British subjects on the goods after they leave Manchester as before, and that the Home and Colonial trades take no gold, while to the Americans we pay more gold than goods, and do not materially increase our exports to the United States; although in 1845 we took from them 1,499,600 bales of cotton, against 329,906 bales in 1822; with a similar increase in most of our other imports. From the Colonies you have an increasing demand, as the population increases; but the United States, with a population of twenty millions, do not take double the quantity of goods they did when a colony, with scarcely over two millions of a population.

'Tis true that your tables show a large business with the Americans in 1835 and 1836, but your readers will scarcely forget the immense distress through the abrupt stoppage of the mighty machinery set in motion in Manchester and Huddersfield to supply fancy goods for a demand which was so artificial, that the arrival of one packet from New York blew it all to the winds!

Free trade in England in corn will not be the immense practical advantage to the Western States that many suppose; but no commercial advantage whatever, will induce the Americans to adopt so suicidal a course, as to hesitate in their present excellent policy, of becoming independent of foreigners in staple manufactures, so that we should be glad if the present amount of our exports to the U. States is kept up, without expecting any increase.

Any man who has been among the im-

mensely extended factories of New England, as I have been, must hold this opinion.

Far different is the staple, greatly increasing, and permanent *Colonial demand*, of which I shall now give some particulars.

And that I may not be accused of selecting unfair data with respect to the Cotton trade, I may remark, that of the total *weight* of yarn in manufactured cotton goods exported in 1845, viz.: 202,350,687 lbs., the two leading staples—"plain calicoes," and "calicoes printed and dyed"—referred to below, make up (according to the estimate of Mr. Burn, in his *Commercial Glance* for the past year, whose general correctness will not be doubted) is 194,080,490 lbs., leaving only 8,280,195 lbs., to be otherwise accounted for, as entering into the production of the finer and miscellaneous fabrics, of which, however, the colonies take a fair and yearly-increasing share. The total *value* of manufactured cotton goods exported in 1845, not including cotton yarn and thread, is estimated by the same authority at £15,282,447. Of this amount, the value of the under-mentioned staples makes up £13,576,279. The fallacy of quoting, in such an inquiry as this, merely gross quantities, irrespective of the sort of goods exported, is exemplified by the fact that, of the other great branch of our cotton exports for 1845—the trade in yarns—amounting in *weight* to 131,937,935 lbs., and in value to only £6,596,897—an article upon which the least amount of industry is employed, and which is, consequently, least profitable to us as a nation, nearly two-thirds, or upwards of 90,000,000 lbs. went to those corn-growing countries of the continent, whose almost worthless commerce with us, we are thus, by our measures, preferring to the valuable trade of finished goods, of which labour is the great component part, provided by our own colonies and the home trade. By a reference then to *Burn's Commercial Glance*, for the past year, I find the following to have been the exports of the two leading articles of the cotton manufactures:—"Plain Calicoes," and "Printed and Dyed Calicoes," in 1841 and 1845, respectively, to the undernoted colonial markets. I should remark that I include China, although not strictly a colonial market, partly from its intimate connexion with our East India trade, and the influence which our East possessions afford us in maintaining our relations with that country; but chiefly from the fact of the returns for 1841 including the exports to both markets.

EXPORTS OF COTTON GOODS TO THE COLONIES.

	CALICOES, PLAIN.		CALICOES, PRINTED AND DYED.	
	1841.	1845.	1841.	1845.
	Yds.	Yds.	Yds.	Yds.
B. W. Indies--	9,531,250	16,087,112	9,774,290	20,729,641
B. N. America	7,757,392	11,550,550	10,703,415	13,302,173
Cape G. Hope	2,088,352	3,391,241	1,904,230	3,520,302
India - - - -	113,402,004	100,100,503	22,510,750	26,083,138
China - - - -	100,100,275			2,335,413
New Holland-	985,823	3,901,000	997,092	3,550,891
Total - - -	131,125,451	309,300,500	45,920,222	70,081,538

The total exports of "Calicoes," to all countries, in two years, Mr. Burn sets down as follows:—

Total "Calicoes Plain" to	1841	1845
all Countries - - -	366,940,452 yds.	613,138,642 yds.
To Colonies as above - - -	134,045,431 "	309,360,506 "

Balance—Exports to other Countries - - - - -	232,901,021 "	303,778,139 "
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Thus, in 1841, our colonial trade, in this staple article of the cotton manufacture, was to our trade with the rest of the world as 134 to 232 millions of yards, or a fraction above one-half. In 1845, however, the former was to the latter as 309 to 303 millions, the colonies having thus become greater consumers than the whole of our other markets!

In the article of dyed and printed calicoes, the proportion stood thus:—

Total "Dyed and Printed Calicoes" to all Countries	1841.	1845
- - - - -	278,748,275 yds.	310,850,697 yds.
Ditto to Colonies - - - - -	45,920,322 "	70,081,558 "

Balance—Exports to other Countries - - - - -	232,827,953 "	240,769,139 "
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Thus, in 1841, the proportion of the colonial consumption of this most important class of manufactured fabrics, to the consumption of the rest of the world, was as 45 to 232 millions, or short of one fifth; whilst in 1845, the proportion was as 70 to 240 millions, or upwards of two-sevenths.

I now subjoin the following comparisons, my purpose being to show—

1st, That the trade of our present colonies, through the neglect of the Government and otherwise, is yet *only* in its infancy, and that it is therefore unfair to judge of it by the *PAST*.

2nd, That while such trades as that to the United States are taking (and must necessarily from the increase of their own manufacturing ability take), every year, fewer and fewer staple goods, there is, in the face of every drawback, a MIGHTILY INCREASING DEMAND FROM THE COLONIES.

Comparative view of Exports to United States and British America.

	YARDS.
"Plain Calicoes" to United States in 1841	11,957,053
Ditto to British America	7,757,332

Balance in favour of United States in 1841	4,199,721
"Calicoes Printed and Dyed" to United States in 1841	26,025,281
Ditto to British America	10,703,415

Balance in favour of United States	15,321,866
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"Plain Calicoes" to United States in 1845	12,412,981
Ditto to British America	11,580,586

Balance in favour of United States, only	832,395
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"Printed and Dyed Calicoes" to the United States, in 1845	13,097,851
Ditto to British America	13,362,173

Balance in favour of British America..... 264,322
In 1845, instead of 15,321,866 against in 1841.

Comparative view of Exports to United States and British West Indies.

"Plain Calicoes" to United States in 1841..... 11,957,053
Ditto to British West Indies..... 9,831,280

Balance in favour of United States..... 2,125,773

"Plain Calicoes" to United States in 1845..... 12,412,981
Ditto to British West Indies..... 16,987,142

Balance in favour British West Indies in 1845..... 4,574,861
Instead of 2,125,733 yards against in 1841

"Calicoes Printed and Dyed" to United States in 1841..... 26,025,281
Ditto to British West Indies..... 9,774,720

Balance in favour of United States in 1841..... 16,250,561
"Calicoes Printed and Dyed" to United States in 1845..... 13,097,851
Ditto to British West Indies..... 20,729,641

Balance in favor of British West Indies in 1845..... 7,631,790
Instead of 6,250,561 yards against in 1841!

And it may not be *inappropos* that I here quote the following from my letter in the *Scotch Reformers' Gazette* of 14th March, as proving the inestimable value of colonial trade as well as the MIGHTY FLUCTUATION WHICH IS THE INSEPARABLE CHARACTER OF TRADE WITH ALL COUNTRIES WHICH ARE BEYOND THE PALE OF OUR OWN CURRENCY AND TRADE LAWS AND REGULATIONS:

"I desire shortly to recur to the subject of colonial trade to show its infinite superiority over a foreign trade, or a merely manufacturing commerce, and I take my figures from the official statements, of the exports and imports of Great Britain in 1843, not having the later returns at hand.

"In the trade with Britain and her Colonies in the western world, about 60,000 seamen are yearly employed, for whom the amount of wages and cost of provisions cannot be less than £3,500,000 per annum; and the repairs, insurance, and replacing of capital in the ships £4,500,000 more.

"In the trade between Britain and India and China, 10,000 seamen are employed, and at a similar rate their wages, provisions, &c. will amount to £500,000; and the replacement of capital and increase £800,000; in all, £1,300,000. The whole, or nearly the whole of the supplies necessary to maintain these seamen and tonnage, are the productions of British soil and labour, which, in a national point of view, shows the superiority of such a trade over a merely manufacturing commerce.

"A comparison of the trade of the eastern with that of the western world, taking the value of imports and exports, stands nearly thus:—From and to China and the East Indies, about £16,000,000; and from and to British North America and the West Indian Colonies, £14,000,000.

"It thus appears that the latter or British American trade requires nearly five times more ships, tonnage, and seamen to carry it on, than the former or trade to all India and China, thereby affording an incalculable advantage to a naval power, and the support of a naval force, and also to the employment of British labour and capital.

"From the official statement of the exports and imports of Great Britain to the different parts of the world for the year 1843, to which we have alluded, we find that the whole weight of cotton yarn and cotton goods exported from Great Britain annually is 120,000 tons, and the value £23,500,000.

"It follows, then, that one half the tonnage employed in carrying the West Indian exports (value £2,882,441) would be sufficient to carry the whole cotton export trade of this country; and as regards the North American trade, one-seventh of the tonnage would be sufficient to carry all that cotton trade about which Mr. Cobden has made such a noise, but whose real and great intrinsic importance to the empire, no agriculturist nor colonist has ever shown any disposition to undervalue that I am aware of.

"I cannot better finish off this statement than by repeating that, while the trade of British America and the West Indies, stated in 1843 to be only £14,000,000, employs 2,900 ships of 970,000 tons, and 60,000 seamen, our trade with the United States, estimated at £22,000,000, (three-fifths being imports of raw cotton, &c.,) is carried in 350 ships of 233,000 tons; and the import from China, amounting to £5,000,000 is brought in 84 ships of 39,712 tons.

"The trade of America when our colony in 1769 employed, on the average of three years, 1,078 ships, and 28,910 seamen, and the value of these goods taken from Great Britain was £3,370,000; the exports of the colony being £3,924,606.

"The population of the United States is now nearly ten times what it then was, without any great permanent increase in our exports to America, (causes over which we had no control, brought them down in the year 1842 to £3,528,807.)"

Before closing my remarks, I desire to recur to the disingenuous conclusion of Sir Robert Peel's great speech, which I have quoted from.

Yes, the Premier triumphantly concludes—
"This is what you have to decide by your vote on this question—Will you advance or will you recede?"

And again—

"What should be the motto of a country like this? Should it advance or retrograde?"

Now, Sir Robert Peel knew full well that he had not shown, and could not show, how FREE TRADE is to advance, even temporarily, any one of the great interests of this country.

And Sir Robert Peel knew, moreover, that neither has any class of politicians, nor any body of men in England felt, or expressed, any wish or determination TO RECEDE OR RETROGRADE IN THE LIBERALITY OF OUR LEGISLATION for the regulation of commerce.

Nor is Sir Robert Peel ignorant of the fact that ALL PARTIES ARE WILLING AND ANXIOUS TO ADVANCE to the greatest extent they think they can without giving a fatal blow to the industry of our own people, whether artisans or agriculturists.

All that Sir Robert Peel's former friends charge him with is that HE SHOWS HIMSELF DETERMINED TO GO FORWARD IN THE DARK!

They only demand an explanation, and it seems high time that they should do so, when they can now see in the Premier *scarcely the shadow* of his former principles.

Pausing. Sir Robert Peel's followers simply address their political leader as HAMLET did the Ghost of his father—

Hamlet—Whither wilt thou lead me?

Speak! I'll go no further.

Ghost—Mark me. [This is Sir R. Peel to the life.]

Hamlet—I will.

Ghost—My hour is almost come,
When I to sulphurous and tormenting flames
Must render up myself.

Hamlet—Alas! poor Ghost!

But the melancholy fact is that the British Government is now, and has for nearly twenty years been, in hands so morally weak as to have no *real control* of the greater affairs and interests of the country.

The statesmen of the present day aspire to no more than to be (apparently unconcerned) *lookers-on* at the fights of the Free Traders against the Protectionists, and the Freethinkers against the Protestants, and side with the winning party for the time being.

Such men as Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Earl Grey, Canning, Wilberforce, and Anti-Corn-Law Villiers, disclaimed to *count numbers* in their moral contests; but the fact is, that the present and the other governments we have had, since the days of Canning, have not had the moral power in England and her dependencies, even of the Norths and Walpoles of the last century.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,
ISAAC BUCHANAN.

• NEW BRITISH COLONIAL SYSTEM.

*From the Scotch Reformers' Gazette.
Glasgow, January, 1847.*

PROTECTION TO THE CURRENCY AND
THE FOSTERING OF BRITISH INDUSTRY ONLY ONE QUESTION.

THE VITAL QUESTION FOR THE LABOURING
MAN IS EMPLOYMENT, NOT PRICE. NO
LEGISLATION CAN MAKE SURE OF EFFECT-

ING THE LATTER; BUT OUR LAWS OUGHT TO BE SO FRAMED AS TO GIVE OUR OWN PEOPLE, AT LEAST, A PREFERENCE ON THE SAME TERMS, OF OUR OWN NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT AT HOME, AT SEA, AND IN THE COLONIES.

A REDUCTION OF PRICES, the result of Foreign Competition; IS JUST ANOTHER WAY FOR EXPRESSING A WANT OF EMPLOYMENT, FOR WHEN PRICES AND WAGES, AND FREIGHTS, ARE REDUCED ONE HALF, THE EVIL IS NOT ONLY THAT WE FIND OURSELVES PAYING THE FUND-HOLDERS AND ANNUITANTS DOUBLE THE AMOUNT OF BRITISH INDUSTRY THAT WE BEFORE DID FOR THE MONEY DUE THEM EACH HALF YEAR; BUT UNDER FREE TRADE (or when the reduction in the price of our labor flows from foreign competition) WE SHALL BE SUBJECTED TO THE INFINITELY GREATER CALAMITY THAT THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES OF THIS COUNTRY, IN ADDITION TO PAYING THE ANNUITANT OR MAN OF MONEY, AS MUCH LABOR AS FORMERLY, (BEING THAT THE PRICE IN MONEY IS ONLY ONE HALF) WILL HAVE (OUT OF GOLD, the basis of our currency) TO FURNISH THE CAPITALIST WITH AT LEAST HALF THE AMOUNT OF HIS CLAIM IN HARD CASH TO SEND ABROAD IN PAYMENT OF FOREIGN LABOR, THUS FOSTERING AND INCREASING THAT FOREIGN INDUSTRY TO COMPETE WITH WHICH IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR US UNDER OUR NATIONAL BURDENS OR (EVEN THOUGH FREED FROM THESE BURDENS) TILL OUR POPULATION IS REDUCED below the circumstances of the FOREIGN SERV OR SLAVE, FOR THE ACTUAL SCARCE OF THE LATTER MUST EVER REMAIN FEWER THAN THOSE OF A PEOPLE WITH HABITS SUCH AS OURS, AND LIVING IN SO MUCH MORE RIGOROUS A CLIMATE AS THAT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

MR. ISAAC BUCHANAN'S STATEMENT OF PROTECTIONISTS' VIEWS AT THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT. JANUARY, 1847.

The most important effect which has yet appeared of Free Trade (so called) is its having brought out the Protectionist Leaders and the press *strong for the working classes*.

The great object which the Free Trader professed to have in view, is unreservedly acquiesced in by the Protectionist, although the latter still doubts the wisdom of the means, even if in themselves honorable, taken by Cobden and Sir R. Peel to attain "*the greatest benefit to those who labor for their bread*."

Though Sir R. Peel was sympathized with in his defection, by 112 Conservative members of Parliament, it is well known that these gentlemen are now what are politically called "*loose fish*," i. e. they have not remaining one feeling, or principle, in common with the constituencies they represent! The preternatural corruption this year in one principal article of food, was found not to have extended to the others, though for a time the eye of suspicion undervalued them all, so the unexplained defection of the principal Conservatives has led to the discovery that all the rest are "*good men and true*."

And I hold it to be senseless to sneer at the Protectionists' commercial views, merely because every body knows that Lord Stanley's Church-Toryism puts his getting the reins out of the question in the mean time.

IT WILL SOON BECOME PALPABLE THAT THERE ARE NOT REALLY TWO WORKING CONSTITUTIONAL PARTIES IN THE STATE, AND THAT THE WHIGS HAVE A MONOPOLY OF POWER: for it will be self-evident that the existence of Church questions, prevents the possibility of our joining the Protectionists or

trusting them with power, though on all other subjects they might come to be a better representation of public opinion than the Whigs.

The discussion of the great and vital question of labor will thus have no chance of fair play, and the greatest distress and misery will be the inevitable consequence, if we could suppose it possible that the working classes would remain quiet, and permit the throat of their peculiar interest, the QUESTION OF LABOR, thus to be cut. As reasonably might we expect the public to tolerate the culpable leaving of impediments in the way of an express railway train, to scatter certain death and destruction all around.

So certainly, therefore, would I calculate on the Irish Church question being speedily despatched, or the Whigs blamed for retaining it as a source of PARTY POLITICAL CAPITAL, that I earnestly desire the present Ministry to secure their tenure of office, by strengthening themselves on the question of labor, instead of leaning on the political weakness of their opponents, arising from most of the Protectionists being Church-Tories.

And I now proceed to show, by what means or MEASURES the Protectionists will probably characterize themselves.

They will advocate the Ten Hour's Bill, and offer to secure a free gift of land in the Colonies, to every man who can transport himself thither. They will SUSTAIN the NAVIGATION LAWS, and encourage British Fisheries on our coast, as well as in other parts of the world. And, on the more immediate question of Protection, they will take the high and undoubtedly strong and popular ground, that ALL THEY WANT IS, THAT STATE OF THINGS WHICH WILL GIVE MOST EMPLOYMENT TO THE MANUFACTURING POPULATION, the farmer being quite satisfied that, if the weaver be prosperous, so must the agriculturalist, (always, however, bearing in mind how much the weaver's prosperity depends upon the land of Great Britain and Ireland.) The Protectionists will not hereafter busy themselves to oppose Free Trade as a theory, but will endeavour to show that it is NOT FREE TRADE THAT WE HAVE GOT. They will declare that, far from holding objections to real *bona fide* FREE TRADE, THEY CANNOT SUPPOSE ANY ENGLISHMAN IN HIS SENSES OBJECTING TO IT, SEEING THAT, UNDER *BONA FIDE* FREE TRADE, ENGLAND, AS BEING POSSESSED NOT ONLY OF MOST CAPITAL BUT MOST INDUSTRY, MUST HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OVER ALL THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH.

The Protectionists will argue that our being able to show Adam Smith's theories to be correct, supposing all the nations of the earth agreeing together to Free Trade, or supposing all the world under one Government, is just showing his theories to be most inapplicable and impracticable in the actual circumstances of the world.

The nearest approach to Free Trade the Protectionists think that can exist, without a gross sacrifice either of the one nation or of the other, is a trade in which each nation shall

charge one and the same customs duty (say of 10 per cent) on every article imported. They say that if one country sends to another country twenty millions of its national labor (as the United States do to England), and takes from that country (as the United States do from England) only seven millions of that country's labor, THE THIRTEEN MILLIONS of foreign labor ought to be taxed in the country into which it is imported, to prevent the home labor being *actually* on a worse footing than it is, even if the tax were not required for revenue.

The Protectionists, in fact, do not object to put the foreigner on the same footing as the Home and Colonial manufacturer and producer, PROVIDED HE TAKES PAYMENT IN BRITISH LABOR; and this, surely, is being liberal enough.

They think that the best and most practical means of securing the workers of England the greatest freedom of trade, or in other words, the best and MOST PERMANENT AND WELL-PAID EMPLOYMENT, is to make it the interest of other countries to open their ports to us, by making our opening our ports to those countries contingent thereon.

They will abolish the Excise duties, probably *in toto*, thus setting free our internal trade, which should surely have preceded our granting freedom to Foreign labor, and establish a FREE TRADE COMMERCIAL LEAGUE, with which to countermarch the North American Union of States, and the German Zollverein, which at first would only be composed of England and her Colonies, with China (the refusal of the Free Traders to reciprocate with which country has been monstrous conduct).

But the act will provide, that ANY NATION MAY AT ANY TIME COME INTO THE FREE TRADE LEAGUE, BY AGREEING TO TRADE WITH ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES ON A RECIPROCAL DUTY OF 10 PER CENT. ON THE VALUE, IN THE COUNTRY INTO WHICH IT IS IMPORTED, OF EVERY ARTICLE.

That this plan would find more employment and scope for British labor, there can be little doubt; but, in order to give it a fair start, the Protectionists might be driven, contrary to their declared intentions, to continue Peel's Property and Income Tax for a few years.

WE WOULD HAVE FREE TRADE WITH THE COLONIES, AND BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT COLONIES IN EVERY ARTICLE, it being stipulated with each colony, that all the public lands revert to the Crown, and are hereafter to be viewed the birthright of any British subject, who chooses to go and live on them.

In this way, an enormous and incessantly increasing outlet for manufactures would spring up in the Colonies; for, to take one instance, the West Indies would be supplied with provisions and bread stuffs from British North America, and these would be paid for in BRITISH LABOUR sent to Canada, to clothe the increasing population thus employed, instead of being paid for, as at present, in BRITISH GOLD sent from the West Indies to the United States.

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In the mean time, all foreign countries who do not join the British League would be charged—

20s. on Timber (the freight from Quebec being 4s. against 20s. from Memel)

14s. on Sugar, and 21s. on slave-grown.

15s. on Spirits (there being no duty on British).

The present Corn-Law being perpetuated as it stands, except that there will be no duty when the price rises to 54s.

All other articles now in the Tariff to remain as at present.

And ALL articles NOT in the Tariff to pay 10 per cent. on the value in this country.

I feel satisfied that the Protectionists have their plans much more matured than people generally suppose, and that I have now given a good *bird's-eye view*, at least, of the objects desired to be attained by them.

That a policy so generous and enlarged will be all carried out, or even attempted, *at once*, so as to secure its success, is a thing which I scarcely expect, for in all parties there will always be found small men "*fearful and unbelieving*," whose minds lead them to attempt only little matters, success in which is little honor, and failure is disgraceful,—instead of a spring at worthy objects in which, even in failure, you are associated with greatness, and with what, in your own mind, at least, is goodness.

Into the foregoing I have purposely thrown something of the "*whole hog*," my chief object being to excite the attention of the Whigs to the POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER PARTY STARTING UP ON VERY POPULAR PRINCIPLES, WHILE I AM DESIROUS TO MAKE IT APPARENT THAT MY "*AUTHORITY*" AMOUNTS TO NO MORE THAN THAT OF "*EVENTS CASTING THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE*."

I am sure it may at least be said of my statement, that it is one which Sir R. Peel is much more likely to support, than, at the opening of the last Parliament, he was to support the measures he carried.

Reflection on the almost insuperable difficulties attendant on the introduction of Free Trade, even with our Colonies, (the only countries in the world which are able and willing to free trade with us), must have the effect of *showing up* the humbug that has been spoken on the subject of the practicability of *Free Trade with all the world*.

But to extend the benefits, and if possible, the name of England to the farthest frontiers of our Colonies, is no mean object, thus enabling foreigners to feel that in the remotest corners of the earth, they can find English manufactures as untaxed as in England.

That the Protectionists can come into power *now* seems quite out of the question.

The thorough reformation of the Irish Ecclesiastical nuisance, must be a prelude to our trusting a class of men who, though distinguished for their personal honour, are equally distinguished for their Church-Toryism.

The Church will no longer be permitted to rule this country in the name of the Government.

The *Reformation* of the Irish Church is imperatively called for, as a prelude to the unprejudiced discussion of the QUESTION OF LABOR, or of the full employment of the country's industry, that great interest which now must alone be legislated for, as seen to involve the stability of all that we hold sacred—the happiness of the people, the Crown, and the national credit; but it is also required as a prelude to the necessary social ameliorations in Ireland, the condition of which country is a disgrace to the empire.

The other Established Churches may be defended as *matters of circumstances*, but the Irish one, as now constituted, cannot.

Some good men within it have been able to do a little good, *in spite* of the abominable system of which they are a part. But let us compare this with the *good that might* have been done in Ireland, and shudder when we think of the heart-burnings and animosities which their exclusive system has created, generally ending in the foulest butcheries by Christians of their fellow-Christians.

The *whole* revenues of the Irish Church will probably have to be deviated to the endowment of a GREAT IRISH POOR LAW, charity being the only religious duty in which the former and present possessors of them conscientiously agree, (the State guaranteeing an equitable provision for the present incumbents for life.)

Religious inequality banished from Ireland, the law may and will be vindicated; for murder will then have none of those thousand excuses, which the present ramified system of oppression is daily creating.

The foregoing seems our duty, even if we could not expect *in our day*, to see the blessings of even a good system of law, appreciated by a nation of men so degraded, and dead to every feeling of national independence, as to have quietly submitted so long, to have a church so unlike Ireland in its extravagance, and otherwise so palpably unadapted to the country, *forced on them even if it were the best church on earth*.

I would, however, feel very confident, that an immediately good effect would flow, from the generous treatment on our part, of a population individually so warm-hearted. Indeed, I think there is every reason, from the characters borne by Irishmen abroad, to believe, that, if in Ireland we invest them with ALL the privileges of British subjects, they will be prepared and forward to perform ALL their duties with alacrity.

In such case, how soon the scene would change! Ireland becoming an outlet for British manufacturing labor, such as no foreign country can present, and in everything the ornament and boast of the empire, instead of, as at present, the cause of SHAME,

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

Glasgow, January, 1847.

CAN THE BRITISH MONARCHY BE PRESERVED?

I ANSWER NO, EMPHATICALLY NO, UNLESS THE UPPER CLASSES PERMIT THE IMMEDIATE ADOPTION OF MEASURES WHICH THEIR PERSONAL INTERESTS WILL, I FEAR, MAKE THEM DENOUNCE AS REVOLUTIONARY, JUST AS THE SLAVE-BREEDING LORD OF REPUBLICAN AMERICA PREFERS RISKING THE INTEGRITY OF THE REPUBLIC RATHER THAN WANT THE WRETCHED INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY.

I believe the people of England are as loyal as ever to the Monarchy, but I don't believe their self-respect will any longer permit them to tolerate church-establishments, exclusive universities, or the uncontrolled interference of the nobility in the legislation of the country. The time has come when THE POSSIBILITY OF SAVING THE CROWN ITSELF, depends on our having it distinctly understood, that the objects of the government are just the simple, practical and disinterested objects of philanthropy, so boldly and unequivocally expressed by Oliver Cromwell, when he said, "IF ANY MAN THINKS THAT THE INTEREST OF THESE NATIONS AND THE INTEREST OF CHRISTIANITY ARE TWO SEPARATE AND DISTINCT THINGS, I WISH MY SOUL MAY NEVER ENTER INTO HIS SECRET!" And I have not the least doubt that every government, till it has come to feel itself the mere instrument of God's purposes, is liable to the moral consequences of its conduct, DISQUIET, OVERTURN AND REVOLUTION.

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

LETTER TO LORD GEORGE BENTINCK, M. P.
NEW YORK, 25th March, 1848.

MY LORD,—In essaying to discuss the now critical POSITION OF ENGLAND, I would naturally address myself to the MAN WHO, I BELIEVE, COMBINES THE WILL AND THE POWER TO SERVE ITS WORKING CLASSES, to a much greater extent than any other public man in England; but I do so, also, for the additional reason, that since the death of my lamented friend, Lord Metcalfe, I have looked upon your Lordship as the purest and most patriotic of English statesmen.

The time has come when every consideration but that of our country must be forgotten by us all, and I expect to see your Lordship the first to show by your example, that not only should former antipathies, but also predilections be laid aside by public men, the moment they are seen to be DANGEROUS TO THE STATE in the circumstances that surround us.

This is no time to discuss or quarrel about details. The vital question comes home to every Briton's heart and pride, as well as to his material interests, CAN THE BRITISH MONARCHY BE PRESERVED?—THE GREATEST—THE MOST ENDURING—THE MOST DISINTERESTED—EMBODIMENT OF RIGHT AND PRACTICAL PRINCIPLES THAT HAS BEEN TESTED BY TIME!

I ANSWER NO, EMPHATICALLY NO, UNLESS THE UPPER CLASSES (IN WHOM NO ONE HAS

CONFIDENCE, SINCE SIR ROBERT PEEL STULTIFIED THE COMMONS, AND THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON THE LORDS.) PERMIT THE IMMEDIATE ADOPTION OF MEASURES WHICH THEIR PERSONAL INTERESTS WILL, I FEAR, MAKE SOME DENOUNCE AS REVOLUTIONARY, HOWEVER PATRIOTIC THEY MAY FEEL THEM TO BE.

The Peel Conservatives, in order to popularize themselves as a PARTY TO CONSERVE THE CHURCH, sacrificed what they had told their constituents they in their hearts believed to be THE INTEREST OF THE BRITISH LABORER; and they are now a *moral nullity*, incapable of serving the crown, while the retention of peculiar privileges by their class, and its church, after the interests of industry have been betrayed by them in the legislature, POSITIVELY ENDANGERS THE EXISTING ORDER OF THINGS, so that we have no hope from Sir Robert Peel and his "*loose fish*." (Unless we should stoop to use bad instruments, arguing, that having sacrificed British Industry to the Church, they are the very men to sacrifice the Church to British Industry.)

And neither will the people accept assistance from the Protectionists, (although this is admitted to be THE ONLY PARTY WHICH HAS TAKEN A POPULAR OR PATRIOTIC VIEW OF THE RIGHTS OF NATIVE LABOUR,) because, by doing so, THEY WOULD SACRIFICE THEIR RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE and hand themselves over, bound hand and foot, to a miserably selfish church oligarchy, which they hate.

The Crown cannot be saved by the Whigs, even if they could do so on principle, for they cannot save themselves as a party, which is always their first look out. As for the free-traders or free-thinkers in commerce, they can do no more for the working-people (through whose contentment and happiness alone the Crown can be sustained) than the free-thinkers in religion can. The one would land their bodies in death, the other their souls. The total want of all patriotic principle, or tangible principle of any kind, in irreciprocal Free Trade, may appear temporarily to be blessed, just as the total absence of respect for religious principle in a nation may be; but either *peradventure* is a very miserable calculation, and I cannot understand how any man, or set of men, feeling fully the responsibility of a government, would dare to rely on such delusions.

I therefore think that there exists at present no party in England with sufficient power or influence to save the working-classes from starvation; and that IF THE CROWN CANNOT ORGANIZE AN EXECUTIVE CAPABLE OF THIS FIRST DUTY OF A GOVERNMENT, IT MUST OF NECESSITY BE OVERTHROWN.

AND IT APPEARS TO MY MIND, THAT IF THE MONARCHY IS TO BE SAVED, IT MUST BE BY A MORE PATRIOTIC (LESS COSMOPOLITE) COMBINATION, IN THE SHAPE OF A NEW PARTY REPRESENTATIVE OF LABOUR.

Were I a public man in England, at the critical moment, I would not hesitate to meet the Chartists more than half way. I would

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call the new party the CHARTER ROYALISTS, OR SOCIAL ECONOMISTS, as opposed to political economists, whose objects as a party I would state to be—

1st.—The Social Economists will hold it to be the first duty of a government, at whatever sacrifice, to make all sure (who are willing to work) of the actual necessities of life.

2ndly.—They will hold that every means should be adopted to raise the outward comfort of the working-classes, as well as to elevate them morally and religiously—an exclusive church establishment not being one of these means.

Other things I view as only subsidiary, or means to the foregoing great ends. I may, however, give a sketch of what I should demand as POINTS OF OUR CHARTER.

JOTTINGS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CHARTER.

1st. The present and all future national debts must be viewed as being merely a claim on the realized property of the country, although the trade will feel it just and equitable that the surplus of the REVENUE FROM TRADE, after paying the current expenses of the government (this being viewed as indicating the amount of protection to native Industry) be handed over to the Commissioners of the REVENUE FROM PROPERTY, which hereafter should not interfere with the office of the Chancellor of Exchequer. Thus it is abundantly evident that ENGLAND HAS NOT THE MEANS OF PAYING THE INTEREST OF HER NATIONAL DEBT, if Free Trade is persisted in, for this involves freedom from the Excise duties also, seeing that it were manifestly absurd to have foreign Industry free, and Home Industry taxed.

2ndly. I would do away with all restrictions on the internal Trade of the country, (if Free Trade in foreign labor is persisted in) taking off the Excise and all Taxes, leaving only the property Tax, to pay the Interest of the National Debt, with Customs, Stamps (including probate on real estate,) and the Post Office, to meet the current expenses of the country.

3rdly. For three years I would reduce every allowance and salary, from the Queen's down to the public servant at £300 a year, one third—the smaller ones in a less proportion—and after three years I would only increase them to the extent absolutely necessary to retain the highest talent in the service. I would make this reduction if I had no other object than to bring back the sympathy of the GOVERNORS with the distress of the governed, which Sir R Peel's heartless systems have done away; but justice to the national creditor (bankrupt as we are) also requires it.

4thly. I would interest the moneyed classes of the country in pushing our exports of British labor, by enabling Gold to rise and fall in the market like any other commodity; so that the man of money would have a direct interest in encouraging the shipment of British labor, to prevent foreigners having a demand on us for gold, seeing that this would cause the rise of

gold, and a rise, as a consequence, of every other commodity (as compared to money.) At present, under the Currency Law (which Mr. Cobden and the Free Traders would retain,) the export of gold does not raise the price of gold, but only raises the price of interest or money, and proportionally puts down the price of the poor man's labor. MY PLAN WOULD MAKE LABOR A SALEABLE PROPERTY (AT ONE PRICE OR ANOTHER LIKE EVERY THING ELSE) BY CREATING A CONTINUAL DEMAND FOR IT.

5thly. To Ireland and the British Colonies, there must be a NATIONAL SYSTEM OF COLONIZATION, under a new Cabinet Minister, (to whom I shall allude presently) and whom I would call the MINISTER OF EMPLOYMENT with the co-operation of the principal Secretaries of State for the Colonies, who should be not less than four in number with distinct departments—say the North American department, the Australian department (including the African Settlements) the department of India East—and the department of India West—to be called—

Secretary of State for the Northern Colonies.

Secretary of State for the Eastern Colonies.

Secretary of State for the Southern Colonies.

Secretary of State for the Western Colonies.

I am far from believing that the foregoing machinery, each Secretary having the assistance of two under secretaries, (natives of the particular Colonial Department, whom I shall refer to below) will be found at all adequate, a few years hence, to the important duties, the proper performance of which would realize GOOD GOVERNMENT TO THE COLONIES; and from this may be gathered my idea of THE TOTAL INADEQUACY OF THE PRESENT DEPARTMENT IN DOWNING STREET, as the Colonial machinery of a great empire whose life's blood is

“Ships, Colonies and Commerce;”

and not the mere “Manufacturing Commerce” of the Free Trader, or mere Manchester man. The country should look to the new department for the accomplishment of a DISTINCT AND COMMON SENSE OR PRACTICAL OBJECT, such as the extension of the country's exports NOT LESS in any one year, above the former year's exports than one million of pounds sterling—with a similar increase of the productions in the British dependencies, of cotton and other RAW MATERIAL, ESSENTIAL to our manufacturing independence and supremacy, or as I expressed it in March, 1846, “So systematising matters that, through the labor of a British colonial population, we will each year be getting more and more cotton, more wheat, more timber, more sugar, more sheeps' wool, and all other necessities, PAYING BRITISH LABOR FOR THEM AND NOT BRITISH GOLD, AS AT PRESENT.” By means of practical government like this we should find ourselves VERY LITTLE DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN TRADE, which however would be sure to woo us the more, the more we become independent of it; and

thus would we be the blessed instrument of bringing independence to the door of every industrious family in England, an independence which could be depended on to last as long as our reputation of irreciprocal Free Trade, and our determination to adhere to the great principle of political selfishness, as opposed to the cosmopolitan doctrines.

IN ENGLAND THE SUBJECT OF COLONIZATION IS ALTOGETHER A MATTER OF LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES, and one which my local knowledge does not fit me for entering into, further than to say that I should very much prefer to act on my friend, Mr. Smith of Deanston's professional opinion, as to the possibility of reclaiming the Irish lands, than to rest satisfied with Sir Robert Peel's well known official dictum on the subject. OF THE CAPABILITIES OF THE COLONIES, I KNOW ENOUGH TO REPUDE, AS UTTERLY WITHOUT FOUNDATION, AND THE MERE CREATURE OF INEXPERIENCE, THE IDEA THAT THE COLONIZATION SUBJECT IS SURROUNDED WITH INSURMOUNTABLE DIFFICULTY. I think that all the difficulty lies in the ignorance and want of hands (and heads I had almost said) in Downing Street; and I should feel the colonization enterprise half effected, (upon the principle that a thing well begun is half finished,) when the views and principles held by Lord Stanley, and most other colonial ministers, were thrown overboard. After being nearly twenty years a colonist, I feel confident in asserting this as the universal feeling in the colonies. I would give a free grant, as his fatherlight, to every man in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, of 100 acres of land, in whatever colony he chooses to go to or remain in as an ACTUAL SETTLER: thus at once would a gleam of hope and self-respect be thrown into the darkest breast in Manchester or Glasgow, while a MOTIVE TO ECONOMY would be furnished to every man, in gathering together sufficient money to convey his family thither. In justice to the colonists, as well as to furnish me a means of knowing that there exists in the man the energy necessary for a settler's struggle, I would assist no settler till he arrived at his land; when I should furnish to those whose (well authenticated) circumstances required it, agricultural implements and food, for the months that intervene, till he can get his first crop, (but no money) all this being done on a self-supporting principle, the land still being retained in security. I would gradually raise a million, or two millions of pounds sterling in London by the creation of a new debt, called COLONIZATION BONDS, (secured not only by the Home Government's credit, but by the whole lands of the colonies where the money is applied); with this money I would prepare HOMES IN THE WOODS for the different grades of emigrants; and I would form a corps of experienced colonization agents, men of the profession of farmers to be scattered throughout the Colony, to secure to the emigrant disinterested advice, and to PUT WITHIN HIS REACH, ALL THE INSTRUCTIONS WHICH THE GREATEST PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE CAN FURNISH. I could put my

hand on hundreds of practical and experienced men, to answer the above description in Canada, who would, for a very small annual consideration, (beyond a grant of land) transfer themselves to the new districts, about to be laid open, as the heads of these settlements; and, I have no doubt, the same thing would be as easy in all other Colonies, to men locally acquainted with them, as I am with Upper Canada.

Guided by no consideration but the great interests of the empire, I would without any hesitation appoint to be JOINT COLONIAL SECRETARIES OF STATE in London, men of genius, and combining parliamentary talent with the Colonial experience; and for this work my men would be the Honourables Robert B. Sullivan, and Joseph Howe, (at present Prime Ministers of Canada and Nova Scotia, respectively,) to preside over the northern and southern colonies, leaving the present able undersecretaries, Mr. Hawes and Mr. Buller, to apply themselves to the eastern and western colonial departments. Over these men I would allow no supercilious or lordly master, any more than I would tolerate the interference of any slow-moving Downing street clerk, cumbered with old musty forms and senseless precedents.

Thus we would throw a simultaneous glow of confidence into the now darkening extremities of the empire, just as your Lordship with Lord Ashburton, and Mr. Herries, if placing yourselves in the breach of the constitution, at the present crisis of its fate, would calm in one moment the troubled heart of the empire and of the world, by being able to announce, that following your noble example, Lords Clarendon and Palmerston (incomparably the ablest men in England) having come and laid their personal untalents on the altar of their country, were prepared to undertake the foreign and home departments of the government. Lord Palmerston should be at the HOME OFFICE, if not PRIME MINISTER. Although it is all important to have the benefit of his Lordship's experience in foreign affairs, it is self-evident, that a man equally firm, and, if possible, more determined on the right course, yet, at the same time, more cool, and less committed, (combining, in a word, the *maritus in modo* with the *fortiter in re*), is required, as the arbiter of the world's destinies at this juncture.

ENGLAND AT THIS HOUR IS CERTAINLY ON A COURSE OF DECLINE, and with empires like individuals, their downward course is rapid—"facilis est decensus averno."

To enable us to fix on the cure, we must first ascertain the causes of England's decline, and prominent among these will stand out the misgovernment and want of government of the Colonies, by which England has been prevented being benefitted by her foreign possessions, and has been made in too many cases a curse to them. Then we will find, in pursuing our inquiry, that the uselessness (of our own creating) of the colonies, was availed of by an unpatriotic (cosmopolite) combination of cotton Lords in Manchester, to excite the people in favor of

foreign trade in preference to the colonies, which our Lordship would feed the Bull thereof, than actually rich old investors continued to the good old policy, and thus have invaded, he My view of the country, was full of STATEMENTS OPENING OF the Glasgow 1847, a number to every moral Parliamentary literature. ENGLAND IS OF GREATNESS, BLESSED BY NATURE, as I am satisfied, as cumstantial, aristocracy, social influence, poured into the government, independent existence, ing within it, and accumulated than does the whatever. every advantage, lic offer, which Of democracy And as the centralize the I would make OF THE EMPIRE even in combination with each other should not be BRITAIN IN which commerce can create.

To show which, it will be the Colonist quote the following to the Earl of Glasgow, that I lay great secretaries of the parties of the local Legislature the Colony.

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foreign trade, on which there is no dependence, in preference to the Home and Colonial Trades, which our legislation has the power to retain to feed the industry of England. Poor John Bull therefore finds himself (more frightened than actually hurt as yet) in the predicament of the rich old invalid, whose disease (serious enough if continued) is that having deviated from his good old principle of living within his income, and thus had his LARGE INDEPENDENCY slightly invaded, he already realizes himself a bigger. My view of the only course open to this country, was fully explained in a paper, headed STATEMENT OF PROTECTIONIST VIEWS AT THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT, which appeared in the *Glasgow Reformers' Gazette*, in January, 1847, a number of which newspaper was sent to every member in both houses of the Imperial Parliament as well as the Colonial Legislatures. And I still feel as satisfied that ENGLAND HAS YET AT COMMAND, THE ELEMENTS OF GREATNESS AND HAPPINESS, IN A DEGREE POSSESSED BY NO OTHER COUNTRY IN THE WORLD, as I am satisfied that (eel free from the circumstantial disadvantages of her church and aristocracy, and able to retain the disinterested social influences of these noble and time honoured institutions) England has an executive government admitting of the prompt and independent execution of high designs, and containing within it capabilities at once of progress and accumulation, to a greater practical extent than does the principle of any other government whatever. I see that her subjects may enjoy every advantage of democracy which a Republic offers, while they are saved the natural evils of democracy which are inherent in a Republic. And as the first or one of the first steps to centralize the productive energies of England, I would make the COLONIES INTEGRAL PARTS OF THE EMPIRE. They should have their name, even in common with the mother country and with each other. And BRITAIN IN AMERICA, should not only be bound to Great Britain, but BRITAIN IN INDIA EAST AND WEST by every tie which common interest, as well as common glory can create.

To show the details of my views (about which, it will be observed, there is no complication) of the means to retain the affections of the Colonists to their mother country, I may quote the following from a letter which I wrote to the Earl of Elgin on his Lordship's appointment to the Canadian Government. It is dated *Glasgow, March, 1846*. It will be observed that I lay great stress on having two under secretaries for each important Colony, natives of the particular Colony, and appointed by the local Legislature, each to be in London and in the Colony alternately:—

"Believing, as I do, that Free Trade will be perceived in by English statesmen for shame's cause just as the Americans (in the true spirit of the Democracy which Eng'land has practically adopted,) persisting long in their Banking theories, though these showed themselves wrong by apsecting every interest to support which was their whole object and end; and believing, therefore, that in the mean time

Canada will be lost to the Empire, I feel as if the discussion of the details of the ameliorations required internally in Canada were very useless now.

I beg, however, to mention two things which I have long urged, as wanting to the practical good government of Canada.

First—I think that Canada has been misgoverned partly through the ignorance and partly through the want of hands in the Colonial Office; and, as a remedy, I propose that each important Colony should get a separate room in Downing Street, and should have for the future two Private Secretaries, one of whom should be in the Province and in London alternately. Each Colony would have thus an intelligent machinery in London with which Colonists could co-operate for their respective interests.

Second—The Queen's subjects in Canada, from their position, have no influence at Horse Guards, the India House, or in any other services; so, that not only should their title to their local offices be viewed the stronger on this account, but the Governor General should be armed with a certain number of Commissions in the different services in each year to reward Provincial Parliamentary and other services and merit; for we may rely that if the energies of the Canadian youth are not used by the British Government, they will be used against it.

I take the liberty to send herewith some of the pamphlets and writings which, from 1836 down, I have published on the subject I am now referring to.

I thought, too, of strengthening my appeal by sending, for your Excellency's perusal, various LETTERS OF THANKS from the Government, sent me by Lord Metcalfe, but I cannot lay my hands on them at the moment, and Mr. Higginson (thru whom no official knows so much about Canada) can tell your Excellency the degree of credit attachable to my opinions.

I shall send a copy of this to Earl Grey."

And on the subject of THE PECULIAR ADVANTAGE TO THE EMPIRE OF COLONIAL AS COMPARED TO FOREIGN TRADE, I quote the following remarks from a letter of mine, which was published in the *Liverpool Standard*, on 24th March, 1846:—

"It is self-evident that the paper currency to be safe must be small and fluctuating in this country when the bulk of our trade is with foreigners, as they do not take in exchange its manufactures (or labour): for commercial confidence (or credit) exists less or more, just as there is less or more movement or exportation of the precious metals. And if through the loss of Canada and the West Indies, two other great staples, timber and sugar, were added to cotton and corn, as things for which gold must be paid, there would be no safety (even as a matter of simple existence) for our over supply of English artisans, but in their transferring themselves to the United States, to get under shelter of the protection of the American tariff.

It is my sincere belief, that time is all that is required, to show that FREE TRADE IS SUICIDE ON THE PART OF BRITISH ARTIZANS, and that by not preferring a moderate protection to out-and-out free-trade, the liberal party will become very unpopular in this country.

There is no man on either side of party politics who understands the practical interests of the empire better than Sir Howard Douglas, and no one expresses them so well. In his speech on the late debate, Sir Howard Douglas explains the true policy of England:—

"The whole amount of manufactures exported to

India does not exceed £3,000,000; in 1844 £7,495,666, including Ceylon. If we were to encourage, as we might, the natural productions of British India, to enable her the better to pay for British goods, THERE IS SCARCELY ANY ASSIGNABLE LIMIT, TO THE INCREASE OF THAT VAST MARKET OF CONSUMPTION, FOR THE PRODUCTIONS OF BRITISH INDUSTRY; THE DEMAND FOR BRITISH COTTON GOODS IN PARTICULAR, if the population took but at the rate of 10s. per head, would amount to £50,000,000 sterling; and the demand for woollens, silks, pottery, glass, plated wares, cutlery, iron, brass, and copper implements, and an infinity of articles for domestic use, would be prodigiously increased."

Let us take Sir Howard Douglas's advice, and endeavor to give employment to British subjects instead of foreigners. Let us re-organize the Colonial system (which is the cause of Eng and's greatness) on the principle of moderate protection.

Let us prefer to produce our cotton, sugar, timber, &c., from the labor of British subjects, who have British habits, and consume British manufactures entirely, rather than from the degraded labor of the American slave; and then our demand will be for manufactures and not for gold, the national currency will get out of its *present feverish and excited state*, which gives no dependence to the manufacturer, and keeps the laboring class always within a few weeks of absolute want.

At present it is no matter how good and certain a merchant's prospects are of disposing of goods, he cannot buy them if the *British money market* is deranged, or, in other words, if specie (the groundwork on which is built all confidence and credit) is being exported to foreign countries or beyond the home and Colonial trade, or in other words beyond the range of our own 'CURRENCY LAWS.'

6th. THE TIME HAS COME WHEN WE MUST BE IN A POSITION TO HAVE A REASONABLE EXPECTATION THAT EVERY CLASS OF MEN WILL BE CHEERFULLY PREPARED TO DO ALL THE DUTIES OF THE SUBJECT, AND WHEN, AS A MATTER OF COURSE, WE MUST YIELD TO EVERY ONE ALL THE SUBJECT'S PRIVILEGES. A man can scarcely be expected to lay his life and property on the altar of his country, if he has not the same extent of interest in and attachment to the government as is enjoyed by his neighbor. Upon this ground alone then I would insist on the *vital necessity of immediately doing away with Church establishments and exclusive Universities*. I would let each incumbent enjoy what he at present has during his life, but at his death, I should have the clergyman's income diverted to the purpose of Common School Education.

If any other reasons were wanted to show this important reform being imperatively called for, we would find it in the fact that *church quarrels divide those who are mutually the people's advocates in the question of protection to the British laborer or artisan*. At the opening of Parliament in January, 1847, being then in Glasgow, I published the following remarks on this vital point:—

"The discussion of the great and vital question of labor will thus have no chance of fair play, and the greatest distress and misery will be the inevitable consequence, if we could suppose it possible that the

working classes would remain quiet and permit the throat of their peculiar interest, the QUESTION OF LABOR, thus to be cut. As reasonably might we expect the public to tolerate the culpable leaving of impediments in the way of an express railway train, to scatter certain death and destruction all around.

In this dreadful condition they will blame and justly so, the government. The Government will plead its *good intentions*, but this will not feed the starving masses, who will, in reply, charge the Government with at least, *not having ability to prevent*, even if it did not cause their disasters. No change to people in these circumstances can be for the worse, and A REVOLUTION MAY COME UPON ENGLAND, IF RETRENCHMENT AND THE MOST SWEEPING REFORM OF THE CURRENCY, ARE NOT MADE, WITHOUT A MOMENT'S DELAY, SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH SUCH POLITICAL ALTERATIONS IN IRELAND, AND OTHERWISE, AS WILL THROW THE NOW GLOOMY MINDS OF THE POPULATION FORWARD TO A HAPPIER FUTURE.

Part of my object in these explanations has been, to show what I believe to be the character of the CHARTER OF CONDITIONS, on which her Majesty's Scottish subjects at home, and in the still Loyal (though they also have been much alienated by former mismanagement, and by English Ecclesiastical insolence) Colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, may confidently be expected to remain permanently foremost, as usual, in support of the Monarchy, without requiring any desertion by them of the free and progressive principles, by which, in all history, Scotland has been characterized, and without any violation of their national sentiment of entire freedom of personal thought and action:

"Thy spirit, Independence, let me share,
Lord of the Lion's heart, and Eagle eye:
Thy steps I'll follow with my bosom bare,
Nor heed the storm that scowls along the sky."

Her Majesty's Scottish subjects are always first in the triumphs of Liberty, but yet no people place so intelligent or just, and therefore, so high a value on a CONSTITUTIONALLY DISINTERESTED MONARCHY LIKE OURS, ADAPTED TO THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE; and whenever a rally for our Queen and Country is called for, the mountain cry will not be raised in vain—

"*Clann nan Gaidheil'n gualibh a cheile*"
"Sons of Highlanders, shoulder to shoulder and back to back."

No people have had more, from time to time, to complain of than the Scotch, but they have always declined allowing any set of men, (embodied as a government,) to force them into disloyalty to their country's principles. They have sometimes convicted the monarchy of disloyalty to their principles, and have on such occasions changed their men. To this it is owing that the Hanover Family are now Sovereigns of Great Britain. In fact, THE IDEA IN SCOTLAND OF THE THRONE is, that it is the embodiment of their own freedom and INDEPENDENCE; and it is the proudest consideration of Scotchmen, that FROM THEIR COUNTRY EMANATED IN PRACTICAL SHAPE THE PRINCIPLES OF

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FREEDOM which have become the law of nations. The reader of history finds the parliament at Perth, which destined the STUART FAMILY to the throne of Scotland, declaring sentiments so practically democratic in spirit, as those afterwards inculcated by GEORGE BUCHANAN, in his *LEX REGUM, &c., &c.*, or more recently embodied in the Constitution of the United States of America. WALTER, THE STEWARD OF SCOTLAND, was chosen successor to the throne, after the death of the *then* king, and HE AND HIS SONS WERE TO BE SUPPORTED ONLY WHILE THEY PERFORMED THE STIPULATIONS OF LIBERTY *clearly laid down by PARLIAMENT IN THEIR TITLE TO THE THRONE GIVEN THEM BY THE PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND.*

No Scotchman could be loyal to his government except he believed it to be a mere EMBODIMENT OF WHAT IS RIGHT, or of what *he* thinks right. Dear to him as is the locality of the "*land of the mountain and the flood,*" Scotland is dearer to him from its associations with his political and religious predilections. As regards all that they have valued most in their country, Scotchmen from the remotest period would seem, very nearly, to have realized *Dr. Chalmers's* beautiful abstraction about Heaven when he says *Heaven is a state of mind, NOT A LOCALITY.* THEIR attachment has not been to their country as a locality only, as his country is to the Spaniard, who is [we are told] "*proud of a land that gave him nought but life.*" Their loyalty has not been to the monarchy, *quoad hoc*—but to it as the monument not only of their INDEPENDENCE OF FOREIGNERS, but of their security against INTERNAL VENALITY. In fact, we view in the throne HUMAN NATURE ELEVATED BY US ABOVE MOTIVES TO POLITICAL VICE, as a *power* behind which a minority of the nation may constitutionally rally, when abused by the tyrant majority. And if any further illustration is necessary, (in proof that Scotchmen support the monarchy as an EMBODIMENT OF WHAT IS RIGHT,) we get it in the declaration of our illustrious countryman FLETCHER OF SALTOUN, "*He would lose his life to serve Scotland, but he would not do a base thing to save her.*" Fletcher felt that the government was no longer the expression of his country's principles, when it required a base or slavish thing at the hands of any Scotchman, and that, in *doing a base thing*, he would not save but destroy his country. In a word, we hold the monarchy sacred, because we hold the liberties and RIGHTS SACRED of which we make it the embodiment: and our allegiance to it is just in proportion as we see the crown agreeing with us in respecting our national rights and privileges.

By the late Irish newspapers, I see that Scotland is expected to *sympathize* with Ireland, at this terrible crisis of the history of that unhappy land, and she undoubtedly will do so. Scotland resisted the imposition of the English Establishment in her own country, with her best blood, and she has despised Irishmen for nothing more than that want of moral courage

which has tolerated that badge of bondage so long in their country

In the case of Ireland, *my* countrymen will, no doubt, be apt to err as usual on the side of doing too much, rather than too little, for the principles of their native country; but they never will shut their eyes to the danger, that they may, "*avoiding Scylla, fall into Charybdis.*" And it will be to every honest and true-hearted Scotchman among us, a matter of the most anxious concern, lest in avoiding the open and menacing rocks of black Prelacy, or High Church Bigotry, we should suddenly and against *our inclinations* and true interests, get whirled into the unsounded abyss of Revolutionary Republicanism that *we* see yawning to embrace us.

I have always thought it a pity that there could not be raised up in Ireland a sufficient amount of moral courage to make the population repudiate the presumption, insolence, and oppression of the Church of England; for without this, I fear the Irishman is *morally incapable* of the indignation which would fire a Scotchman's breast, at the *idea of suffering foreigners* to interfere in the assertion of his national liberties, a sentiment of my native country, which Burns has immortalized.

"Be Brions still—to Britain true,
"Among ourselves united;
"For never but by British hands,
"Must British wrongs be righted."

But I will never believe that these dastardly Irishmen speak the sentiments of their country, who invoke FOREIGN INTERFERENCE (forsooth) in the assertion of their national liberties, as if any country ought to be free, or could retain its freedom, which has not manliness and moral courage enough to assert it.

THROUGH UNSEEMLY DIVISIONS AMONG THEMSELVES, THE IRISH HAVE CERTAINLY APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN DEAD TO EVERY FEELING OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE; BUT THEY WILL RISE FROM THEIR LETHARGY, LIKE A GIANT FROM HIS SLEEP, TO ACT ON THE WORDS SO OFTEN QUOTED BY THE GREATEST MAN IRELAND EVER PRODUCED:—

"Here literary boudsmen, know ye not,
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow,"

"So certainly, therefore, would I calculate on the Irish Church Question being speedily *dispatched*, or the Whigs blamed for retaining it as a source of EAST POLITICAL CAPITAL, that I earnestly desire the present Ministry to secure their tenure of office, by strengthening themselves on *the question of labor*, instead of leaning on the political weakness of their opponent, arising from most of the protectionists being Church Tories.

IF THE CHURCH CORPORATION DO NOT WITHOUT DELAY YIELD TO OUR JUST DEMANDS, THE CROWN IS LOST."

There is an absolute necessity for an *immediate reconciliation among all classes* of the British people to save the monarchy. THE PEOPLE HAVE SO OFTEN FAILED IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO EXTRACT ANY THING OUT OF THE JUSTICE OF THE CHURCH, THAT THEY NOW EXPECT NOTHING EXCEPT FROM ITS FRARS. Experience has satisfied the people, as well as the Church, that no new combination (even if the people's cir-

circumstances had not been made, by Free Trade, too desperate to allow them time to think of combining) can ever grapple successfully with such ponderous corporations as those of the clergy and the lawyers in England. Even the vain attempt at present would be accompanied by an amount of personal sacrifice quite out of the question to expect, in the now uneasy and miserable state of the middle and working classes. AND FEELING THEMSELVES HELPLESS TO EFFECT IMMEDIATE REFORM IN THE MACHINE OF GOVERNMENT, THEY MAY BE SO MISGUIDED AS TO DO WHAT THEY CAN—BREAK IT TO PIECES, a fact which should ever be before the eyes of every government, that it may feel its awful responsibility in tolerating any thing which tends directly or indirectly to the starvation of the masses. I hold these convictions altogether free from the least enmity in my mind to particular tenets or churches, for my prejudices would lead me to give the public endowment to the Churches of England and Scotland in preference to any other church that would take them. But I see that the political advancement of the present day will repudiate the idea of any one pretending to the spirit of a man submitting to such marked inferiority, or of more than HALF the loyalty being expected from him to whom you give only HALF the privileges of the subject. IN FACT I DO NOT BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE TO SUSTAIN THE CROWN OF ENGLAND EXCEPT THE EXCLUSIVE PRETENSIONS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCHES ARE PUT DOWN FOR EVER.

7th.—NO CONSIDERATION WOULD MAKE ME CONSENT TO ALTER THE PROPERTY PRINCIPLE OF THE FRANCHISE OF VOTERS FOR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. My experience in this country (*the United States*) as well as my own convictions of right and wrong, combine to prevent me being a party to sanction the principle of men having their hand in the public purse, that have nothing in their own. Men of property according to my idea, should control the property of the country as well as be at the expense of defending it. But there is a certain degree of representation which the poorest man is entitled to, and to attain this I propose to form a people's House as follows:

8th.—Without degrading the Lords from being an ennobled class, I would form them into a PEOPLES HOUSE, OR ELECTIVE HOUSE OF LORDS, making it necessary, before any Lord can take a seat in Parliament, that he be elected by a particular constituency. To such election I would apply the principle of universal suffrage—firstly because the House of Lords do not control the country's purse-strings, and secondly, because it is only out of the propertied class [limited, as are the persons for whom members of Churches can vote as their clergyman,] that a representative may be chosen. The limit of the ennobled class (who might sit in the new House of Lords) I would extend to include any descendant of any man who was a peer of England, Ireland, or Scotland, at the accession to the throne of the Hanover family, and any man who has since been made a peer, or his

descendants, all however being required to be duly registered as such, a certain time before each election.

9th.—The chief argument for the continuance of the laws of entail and primogeniture being removed by the popularizing of the House of Lords, I see no sufficient reason to retain these laws on the statute book.

10th.—Vote by Ballot and Triennial Parliaments are things to which there should be no objection. The attempt to make them constitutional questions is simply ridiculous. Perhaps, however, the duration of the Parliament as in the Colonies (four years) had better be adopted, as practically, the average of parliaments will be much shorter.

11th.—Repeal of the Irish Union must be granted, if one effect of the foregoing Reforms is not to bring about good government in Ireland; but I would withstand any present repeal till this is proved by two or three years' trial. I am confident that through such a government in England as I have described, the Irish may procure all the benefits they desire or could possibly realize through the existence of an Irish independence, while, from what I have seen of Ireland, I feel even more confident in asserting, that the evils from which the absence of a local parliament would save Ireland, would be found to be only less than those arising from the present existing abuses and misgovernment, just as I have expressed my conviction that under our Monarchy it is yet possible for us to enjoy all the benefits of Democracy and be saved the evils, so, (while admitting the justice of Irish demands) I think the redress of the wrongs through the English Parliament, if possible, would save Ireland infinite evils.

12th.—As a sign between the Government and the People of its being distinctly understood that, henceforward, the great aim of the British monarchy is to be the amelioration of the condition, both physical and moral, of the working classes, I would insist on a new ministerial office being created, the occupant of which would not be expected to leave office, when a change of ministry occurs, unless the change is caused by differences on the Question of Labor. This minister should be the Leader of the People's House, (my new or popularized House of Lords) under the title of the Minister of Employment, (Home and Colonial) of the protection and promotion of which he will have the responsibility. And he should have control of the most ample means to enable him to command success in this vital enterprise, seeing that on it, or in other words, on the immediate and proper settlement of the Question of Labor is seen to depend the permanency of all that, as Englishmen, we hold sacred, viz: the happiness of the people, the crown and the national credit, all of which interests are now threatened with paralysis (absence of all confidence) even by the anticipation of the legitimate and unavoidable effects of theoretical or irreciprocal Free Trade, if persisted in. I had in view such a machinery as I would furnish

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by the *minister of employment* when in my
letter to the *Liverpool Standard*, dated *Glas-*
gow, 24th March, 1846, I said,

"The aggregate capital in England, 'tis true has been increased, but it has found its way into the hands of the money-lenders, with whom the manufacturer now shares his profit, and none of it has remained in the pockets of the working classes, who, in fact, are getting more and more crushed in their circumstances and degraded in their moral and intellectual condition. Rather than buy our pre-eminence in commerce at so dear a price as the distress of the working classes, and a continuance of over production, let us, by a parliamentary grant of the public money (a million pounds a year, if that were necessary,) in support of Schools of Experiments (with their travellers and ramifications all over the world), make and educate the people in, those advances in manufacturing science and knowledge, which are found necessary to keep us first among the nations.

Rather than not have a radical change in our systems, and to enable it to be attempted safely, I would support the minister in laying on an income-tax for three years, of twenty per cent, for the first year, fifteen per cent, for the second year, and ten per cent, for the third year, to enable him to construct an immense system of immigration to the colonies, as well as to push forward our colonial cotton, and other productions, and to ameliorate in every possible way, the condition of the industrious classes in the manufacturing districts and Ireland.

There never was before so glorious an opportunity as the present for this country to return to homely and sound principles, and there may never be again.

The effect of the construction of railways on the *labor market* is such that (independent of Sir Robert Peel and the political economists,) every man, woman and child can get employment and high wages, and that at a time when there is scarcely one article of manufacture for which there is one-half the demand usually experienced at this season of the year.

But the construction of railways, like foreign trade, is at best but a temporary employment for a population, and if great national means be not now taken to provide permanent outlets both for the people and their labor, it is easy to foresee that wretchedness and distress among all classes of the community, will by-and-by be greater, more severe, and more lasting; (so overwhelming now is the increase of our population,) than we have ever before experienced in the worst times; nor will it matter whether nominally the colonial system or the theory of free trade is in operation."

My convictions of the danger to England of her unprincipled course of commercial Atheism, (as I may call it) continued to strengthen rather than to be cooled down by time's sober second thought, and when the Imperial Parliament met in January, 1847, I had before every member of it my views of the only remedy which the nature of things admitted of. The close of that paper alluded thus to the *Organization of Labor*, which I now propose to be entrusted to the *Minister of Employment*.

"That a policy so generous and enlarged will be carried out, or even attempted, at once, so as to cure success, is a thing which I scarcely expect, for in all parties there will always be found small men 'fearful and unbelieving,' whose minds lead them to attempt only little matters, success in which is the honor, and failure is disgraceful, instead of pining at worthy objects in which, even in failure,

you are associated with greatness, and with what, in your mind at least, is goodness."

It is only by measures of a revolutionary character (saving only the Crown and the House of Commons untouched) that an actual revolution can be saved. My views of the principal cause of the people's ruin are well known, (see my Letter, dated Glasgow, 17th April, 1847, to the Members of the Canadian Parliament,*) but any discussion of the causes is now of no comparative consequence. We must at once grapple with the fact that the People are approaching a state of Starvation.

The blow to be struck is not against the British Government, but against ecclesiastical and other unchristian inequalities, among Her Majesty's subjects; not to put down the material interests of any class, but to put up and secure those of all classes, in the permanent elevation of the value of labor, through securing a continual demand for it, by upsetting the monopoly which gold now enjoys over all other property, not excepting the poor man's labor.

And it is impossible for me to take so gloomy a view of the Irish character at home, when I think of the character borne by Irishmen abroad, and when I recall the remembrance of your Lordship's panegyric of the character of the Irish people, (in your Great Railway Speech,) your eulogy of their patience amidst the most direful sufferings, when your Lordship declared that if you only were allowed to fill their bellies with good beef and mutton, and their cottages with fine wheat and sound beer, and their pockets with English gold, to purchase the blankets of Wiltshire, the fustians of Manchester, and the cotton prints of Stockport, you, though a Saxon, would answer with your head for their loyalty, and would lead them through their warm hearts and sympathies not to sever but to cement the Union of Ireland with England.

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

ISAAC BUCHANAN,

Formerly President of the Boards of Trade of Toronto and Hamilton C. W., and member for Toronto (the then Metropolis) in the First Parliament of United Canada.

* LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT.

GLASGOW, 17th April, 1847.

HON. GENTLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN.—The most headstrong Free-trader must now feel, and begin to see, that the untaxed import of foreign labor is detrimental not only to the agricultural body in England and the colonists (and, indirectly through them, to all other classes), but also directly to every interest of the empire through causing a vast diminution of the currency by the removal to other countries of our precious metals.

It is true that the famine in Ireland is the ostensible cause of part of the evils this country now labors under, but it is equally true that our (under Sir Robert Peel) having taken

the suicidal course of depressing home employment and encouraging foreign, is the cause of that *want of confidence* which will prevent the possibility of England rising superior to the present distress without a most serious interference with the currency.

There is no doubt that England is better situated to carry out Free-trade than any country in the world, and if other countries would reciprocate, the advantage would be ours in every case, for even the circumstances of the natives of Hindostan were not so degraded as not to be lowered by British competition. Englishmen would therefore all be Free-traders as matter of theory; but it is about to be shown to be even England's experience of *free imports without reciprocity*, which, in bitter irony, is called Free-trade, (*in me convertite ferrum!*) that it matters not whether the cause of excessive imports into England, be famine or Free-trade, the direful effects are the same, viz.—ruin to all.

1st. We have a reduction of employment to the people of England to very nearly the whole amount we pay for foreign labor.

2nd. A reduction of England's ability to manufacture, through the superstructure of our currency being brought down by the removal of gold, its basis.

3rd. We suffer from the gain to our rivals in manufactures being exactly equivalent to our loss, a better stick of the precious metals giving an increased power to manufacture to foreign countries (so that in fact the less gold England has the better, as, *all our gold gone*, the question of labor will be understood, even by the mean capacities of Whigs and Peelmen.)

To these general effects might be added the particular one as regards the United States, that our new laws will turn a proportion of the cotton land into wheat and Indian corn, thus, by diminishing its quantity, raising the price of cotton to the English millowner.

I particularly desire to guard you against being deceived, by the *stuff* now being written by some of the London newspapers, into the idea that Free-trade has little or nothing to do with our present degraded state in this country.

You will observe I have been cautious in not charging Free trade with getting us into this state, (though I believe Sir R. Peel's 1842 measures have much to do with it,) and that my charge against Free-trade is, that under it no elasticity or confidence exists to get us out of the scrape.

I may, however, state my firm conviction, that the evils arising from the potato rot are nothing compared with those which (in the absence of the potato rot) would have flown from the price of wheat being lowered one-half, not by an increased quantity of our own growth, but by foreign importations, for which we had to pay gold.

Our home trade would now be going through the ordeal of a general bankruptcy, unconsolated even by the prospect that, after thus getting

white-washed, they can live under the undue and cruel competition of untaxed foreign labor.

I pray you to rest satisfied that the present sufferings of this country are in no degree caused by the conduct of the Bank of England, but entirely by the *want of confidence* caused by Sir Robert Peel's Free-trade measures.

This is incontrovertibly a bullion, and not a Bank of England, panic; and one which will convulse the monetary affairs of the whole empire, and not only those of Lombard-street.

To be sure we have not as yet got a bullion panic in the shape of a run upon the bank, and this shows the bank's innocence of the cause of the suction of gold, but we have a bullion panic in the higher and less equivocal sense of a run on the country for gold, and from the enduring cause that it is the most profitable and disposable property foreigners can take abroad.

Sir Robert Peel's Free-trade measures will render a depreciation of the currency inevitable. By them he has undermined the prosperity, and struck a fatal blow at the integrity of the empire.

Even the National Debt of England will be found to be only so much waste paper if we persist in our present suicidal course, for it is secured only by the industry of the empire, from which we have taken away the ability to perform peculiar duties and bear peculiar burdens, by the removal of all its peculiar privileges.

One shudders to think of the individual misery which will be inflicted on the population here, if we persist in viewing the currency and Free-trade as two questions instead of one, as in reality they are—a fact that you well know, from the cruel experience of Canadian industry, when the Legislature of the State of New-York stopped specie payments in 1837.

And begging you not to suppose for a moment that I am less the irreconcilable opponent of class interests than you knew me when I had the honor to represent the metropolis in the first Parliament of United Canada,

I remain, Hon. Gentlemen, and Gentlemen, your obedient humble servant,

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON THE CURRENCY.

From the Liverpool Standard, March 14, 1848.

The Steamer from New York, which arrived here on Saturday, brings us the following letter, in which there are suggestions that cannot fail to be of use to the Parliamentary Committee on the Currency. The letter is addressed to the Currency Correspondent of the *New York Express* :—

NEW YORK, 23rd Feb., 1848.

"SIR,—As an old 'Money' Reformer I have had infinite pleasure in reading your masterly articles in the *Express*, on the currency, and more especially from seeing that you have avoided the fatal error of allowing the general principle of 'Money' to be confounded with

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the subject of Banking, which is a question rather of circumstance or locality than of principle. Sometime ago I took the liberty of sending you, through Mr. Brooks, a rough sketch of what I think should be done in England in 'Money'. Permit me now to remark that I trust that my views entirely agree with yours, and that you will persist in not entering into the subject of whether the Banking in the United States is right or wrong. If we carry our principle, this country will be infinitely more prosperous under the worst system of Banking, than it could possibly be under the best, if the humbug of Gold is perpetuated. Gold I have always viewed as a cannibal that creates confidence only to destroy it. The prejudice however in favor of Gold (as at least the lesser evil), is so inveterate that I don't think 'MONEY REFORM' will ever be carried, except we profess our willingness to retain gold as the SECURITY OF THE CURRENCY, and confine our objections to its being the MEASURE OF VALUE. On the grounds that the change of the value of Gold robs the labouring man, thus—the produce of a man's labour brings in France—(In a foreign country the price got is not dictated by the cost of the articles.)—105 cents, of which 100 goes to the industry of the United States, and 5 cents to the capitalist or the man of money in U.S.—but money becomes dearer through the export of Gold from U.S.—and the man of money demands a proportion of 10 or 15 or 20 cents of the 105. Now this he is enabled to do through your having adopted the principle of Sir Robert Peel's Bill of 1819, by which a bank note is made exactly in relation to gold, as a dock warrant is to indigo—the scarcity of the article raises the value of the warrant, and the same enhancement occurs to the bank note, although to blind the people it is not allowed to express itself directly, but only indirectly through capitalists' 'money' fetching more interests and commanding more commodities and labour when gold gets scarce through exportation.

"What 'money' reformers want, as I understand, is that the whole industry and property of this country, be removed beyond the changes on gold, which are brought about by foreign influence. We want to show the absurdity, of every kind of industry and property being made unsaleable and worth half nothing, (as was lately the case in England), because of the importation of double the quantity of foreign labor, we can pay for by our home industry. It is enough that our home industry be interfered with by the competition of foreign labor, without having the whole currency, and also banking or confidence of the country demolished, by the mode of paying for that foreign labour. If gold must be paid (as of course it must for our importations), let us arrange that its exportation shall not diminish the home trade. Gold must be put in the same category as all other commodities, and permitted to rise and fall according to the laws of supply and demand. It were pre-eminently absurd

to attempt to retain a standard of value in a country whose imports exceed its exports, except such a one as would represent a gradual reduction, as the country's industry and property would of course be more and more impoverished, the more the country outlived its income. But even if there could be any doubt as to the above, it must be self evident, that gold would go to no greater premium than the extent of the exportation of the article, or, in other words, the extent of Foreign Exchanges against us; and that when the foreign exchanges are at par, notes a LEGAL TENDER, and gold would be the same value. We cannot prevent gold appreciating. It does so now—and at present its doing so to that extent depreciates all other property and labour—a state of things so utterly ridiculous that it will not stand long in America. Quite in consistency with these opinions, I AM AN ADVOCATE FOR SIR R. PEELE'S RESTRICTIONS ON BANKING; and I see that the recent Currency Committee in England will come to nothing, because the QUESTION RAISED will be 'Sir R. Peel's restrictions on banking,' instead of the simple question of PRINCIPLE, 'THE CURRENCY,' or MONEY, to speak more correctly. I have long seen what you seem to see clearly, that we may have a NOTE that will not depreciate in reference to gold, any more than any other property. For instance, you might take property in New York to the value of a hundred millions, and issue bonds thereon to twenty millions. Those bonds would surely be as good as, or better (*more saleable*), than any other property in the city. But, as I have said, the prejudice in favour of gold is so inveterate, that to get a change commenced from wrong to right principles, I would consent to arrange the national money so as to leave the people their GOLDEN BAUBLE till they got tired of the expense of it. Without interfering with the present legal tender, I would add thereto, say, TWENTY MILLIONS OF PAPER, THE RECEIPTS OR EVIDENCES OF THE DEPOSIT OF GOLD TO THAT VALUE, in a new department of the treasury at Washington (or of the proposed mint at New York), allowing the Government to increase the issue of notes, to the extent there is an export of gold, or in other words to the extent the 20,000,000 of gold rises in value in the market, decreasing the circulation of PAPER, THE EVIDENCE OF DEPOSIT, to the extent the gold falls in value; or, in other words, the foreign exchanges get righted. Thus, I feel satisfied, would the INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES BE SET FREE FROM FOREIGN INFLUENCE, and it can be set free no other way. This plan would not affect the foreigner, for if gold, which he wanted, was high, so would be the indigo or other articles he had imported. The mere capitalist or 'MONEYED MAN' would pay the proportion to the industry of the country, for the dividends he would get on his stocks would buy less labour, and thus, and thus alone, we shall be able to make it the interest of the money market to encourage native and discourage foreign labour in

the markets of the United States, because the more the latter took the place of the former, the more gold and all other commodities would rise as compared with money—('money' I understand to be a legal tender or **ISSUE BY THE GOVERNMENT**; 'currency,' properly speaking, is bank notes, or private issues). I commenced to write a short note, but have been insensibly led on, and for the length of this epistle I have to offer many apologies.

"Let me in conclusion, remark, that of course on my plan there would be no gain or interest accruing on the twenty millions gold; but neither would there be any loss to the public. By and by the country would come to see that a **LARGE GAIN TO THE PUBLIC** would be made by holding to the whole or part of the amount dividend paying securities.

"I am, sir, your obedient, humble servant,
"ISAAC BUCHANAN."

The following is the **PLAN OF CURRENCY FOR ENGLAND** alluded to in the foregoing letter:—

"I would permit the Bank of England to issue *fourteen millions*, the amount the public owe the Bank. These notes will be payable in gold, silver, or in a **NEW CLASS OF NOTES**, THE MERE EVIDENCES OF THE DEPOSIT IN THE BANK'S VAULTS OF GOLD OR SILVER, TO THE AMOUNT (at the market-price of gold and silver.)"

"Then I would compel the Bank never to hold less than ten millions of specie, to the whole amount, or any part of which, the Bank would have the power of issuing notes, which would be a legal tender because an evidence of deposit.

"The Bank might increase these legal-tender notes to the extent it possessed specie."

* This would allow an extension of issues, and a consequent relief to our home trade to the extent the foreign exchanges get against us, as indicated by the increased price of gold.

WE MUST RECUR TO MR. PITT'S PRINCIPLES OF MONEY, OR STARVATION MUST ENSUE.

(From the London Bankers' Circular of March 17, 1843.)

We now give a letter from Mr. Isaac Buchanan, a merchant of Glasgow, Toronto, Montreal, and New York, dated at the last city on the 28th of February. Whatever may be thought of his remedies, the writer of this letter understands the evils of our currency system, and its malignant operation and consequences thoroughly. His letter, written at New York, three weeks before he could know anything of the sudden and unexpected revolution in France, is absolutely prophetic, and it ought to operate as an awful warning to those most obstinate and stupid of all fanatics—the men of the iron law of 1844:—

NEW YORK, 28th February, 1843.

DEAR SIR,—By the steamer *Hibernia*, sailed

two days ago, I had only time to refer you to a communication of mine to "*a Currency Reformer*" in this country.

My object in sending this to you was to shew that if the Committee of the House of Commons does not confine itself to the consideration of "*the principles of money*," but enters into the discussion of "*the subject of banking*," it will prove an abortion.

The monied aristocracy of England will thus continue to devour the substance and even subsistence of the class who labour for their bread, and, so aggravated will free trade make the operation of this grinding and inhuman system that a revolution in England will be the consequence.

The distress of the working classes will become unbearably great, and though Government may deny that this has been caused by the Government, it will be self-evident that Government has not had power or the will to prevent the starvation of the thousands.

To prevent a revolution in England, the great object of all government, the independence from starvation of the working classes, must not only be seen to be the first object of the existing Government, but THAT OBJECT MUST BE ATTAINED WITHOUT DELAY.

For my own part I firmly believe, and have no hesitation in saying, that GOLD IN ENGLAND NOT BEING ALLOWED TO RISE IN PRICE, and being by law made necessary to her mercantile system of confidence or banking, has already directly caused the death of thousands in Manchester and the other manufacturing districts, and must necessarily be the cause of tens of thousands of deaths and of incalculable misery among the working classes generally.

To force back gold into England the price of labour and all other property has to be crushed down to starvation or beyond starvation limit.

In this way the exchanges are got nominally turned in favour of England; but let us look at the direful effect of this on the industry of England.

The export of gold from England, by removing the base of the inverted pyramid, brought the whole confidence or banking (the means of manufacturing and shipping manufactures) into the dust.

The failure of English merchants destroyed English credit all over the world, and this gives the appearance of the balance of trade being more and more in favour of England, because few bill-drawers being undoubted, the parties owing money in England, prefer going to the most expensive mode of remittance, gold.

Now if gold had risen in England there would have been little or no export of the article from England and none from America.

To the extent gold rose in England would bills of exchange on England have depreciated in New York, and the importers here of British manufactures would have got money orders on England for a larger sum.

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price for his purchases in England; for if he did not pay an extra price, he would to the extent he got his money remitted at a lower rate of exchange have had an advantage over the American manufacturer, while the greater the discount bills on England got down to in the New York market, the greater advantage the English agriculturist would have had over the American wheat grower.

At present the artificial systems of England cause the nominal rate of exchange to be 10 per cent. premium for bills on London, when, if things were left to regulate themselves, the rate would naturally be probably 10 per cent. discount.

The crushing effect of this on the labouring men in England is, that it enables the English buyer of American wheat to give 20 per cent. more to the American grower, and that it gives a 20 per cent. advantage to American manufactures sold in New York over British, which latter could be sold 20 per cent. lower, unless (as would be the case) the price of labour rise to the extent gold would rise in price if England, returning to its faith in Mr. Pitt, would repeal Sir Robert Peel's Gold Bill of 1819.

I am satisfied that the dreadful evils which I anticipate are about to afflict the working men in England may be prevented by adding to the present legal tender in England twenty millions of paper, to represent which (for the present at least) there may be kept an equal amount of gold at its market price in the British Treasury or the Bank of England, as explained in my letter to "the Currency Reformer."

Your obedient humble servant,

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

A PROVINCIAL CURRENCY REQUIRED FOR CANADA.

To the Editor of the British Colonist.

DEAR SIR,—The following paper was written for a Member of the Currency Committee of the House of Commons, and to send to my old friends in the Canadian Parliament. A provincial paper money, or local legal Tender, no longer allowing a commodity which Foreigners can withdraw to remain the legal life's blood of the Internal Trade, is demanded by the circumstances and position of the Canadas perhaps more urgently than by those of any other country, except Ireland. And that such is the case, is self-evident from the present experience of the Colony. Already have the people of Canada been stopped on the threshold of their career of Railway enterprise, by the blasting effects on the Currency of the recent measures of the Imperial Parliament, while the general prosperity of the Colony is fast being paralysed by fear of a drain of Specie to the United States in payment for Goods which the Canadians receive under Free Trade, as the irreciprocal system of Sir Robert Peel is termed in bitter irony. I have no doubt that a long held view of mine will come to be seen to be correct, that

Customs and Currency are one question, or at all events, that in the consideration of practical men, they cannot be separated: i. e. with a fixed metal standard of value we can only protect the currency [the life's blood of the Trade] through Custom House protection, or through keeping our Exports above our Imports.

Yours faithfully,
ISAAC BUCHANAN.

JOTTINGS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CURRENCY.

NEW YORK, 10th March, 1848.

You are aware that I hold the view that the British Parliament should adhere to the principle of Bank Restriction, as embodied in Sir Robert Peel's Bill of 1844, although I see it vital to the Industry of the Country, that Sir R. Peel's Bill of 1819 should be so far repealed as to make the Bank notes and other evidences of debt to be payable in Gold only at the Market price.

I do not mean to say that the amount of circulation, which Sir Robert Peel has fixed on, is enough in prosperous times, although, whatever increase is permitted, I hope the principle of Restriction will be stuck to, otherwise we shall have no ground of calculation or confidence in Bank Notes or Government issues.

I cannot conceive how any man can satisfy himself that promised convertibility on demand, is a sufficient source of the Public's confidence in Bank Notes, whether the experience of England or America is adduced, and to my mind nothing can be clearer than the fatal mistake the Free Traders make in thinking that an increased issue of paper would have prevented or mitigated the late crisis. An increased issue of Bank Notes (when the rate of Interest is not fixed as it lately was by Lord John Russell's letter) just means, a lessened rate of discount, by which a greater profit would have been made by speculators, who might invest the proceeds of their Joint-Bill in a shipment of Gold, and more Gold would therefore have been shipped.

The permission to Gold to fluctuate in price as a commodity, in obedience to the Law of supply and demand, (instead of the value of Money or Interest being made to fluctuate by the demand for Gold) would meet this difficulty; and it would almost meet the cruel case which is possible, (and well put in the last number of the Westminster Review) of Gold becoming so abundant, as so greatly to fall in exchangeable value as to cause the ruin of the Holders of the Public Securities and all other annuitants. It would also do away with the command over England's prosperity and financial safety, at present possessed by the great foreign holders of British Funds.

But my present object is practically to grapple with the vital Enquiry: Why things are always so uneasy in the United States as well as in England? America's great and unexhausted national resources, and her People's entire confidence in these, ought to have exempted her from the catalogue of Countries distressed in Money matters, but it is not so;

—and my investigation into so seemingly contradictory a state of things, has convinced me, that America owes this to her following other nations in assuming Gold, not only as a security for the circulation, but as a *fixed standard of value*.

I have no longer any doubt, that these *fluctuations which defeat even prudent calculations*, are to be attributed to gold not being allowed to rise and fall as a *commodity*. We bring Goods here, (to New York) we sell them and look around for a return or remittance. We find every article that would answer our home markets, inflated, (*because there is prosperity here*) with the exception of gold. Gold is therefore the only article we can take, which will leave us no loss in our own market. We take the gold of course, and our taking it disorganizes the American Currency, in other words, we have to sacrifice the prosperity of the American Working Classes, our customers, in order to preserve their *Fixed standard* forsooth! whereas, if gold was allowed (*in reference to the Bank Notes in which we get payment of our imported commodities*) to rise to a price that would leave a loss in England, we would prefer remitting in the Industry of this country,—or, in case gold still remains the cheapest, its departure from the country would have no effect in disorganizing the currency, if *paper evidences of deposits of Gold* are made a *legal tender* equally with gold and silver. The confusion created by the Free Traders or Bullionists is this:—they say—well, then—if you require to pay ten per cent. more for your gold, you must get 10 per cent. more for your goods—granted—but the *Importer* without requiring to pay more for his gold, gets the 10 per cent. (or whatever is the rise), advance on his foreign article, as no distinction can be made between native and foreign products or between goods payable (*as the Native Trade is*) in commodities equally inflated, and goods payable (*as the Foreign Trade is*) in gold with no inflation.

The Free Traders forget that the *price of goods is fixed by the circumstances of this market*, and not by the cost of the goods in England. They are so blind as to ask the American for gold, at a fixed price, whatever the *circumstances* in America, and the result is that the export of gold extirpates confidence and the currency, and no sales of English goods can be made, except at a ruinous sacrifice, (no better illustration of this can be given, than the mighty loss of American holders of Cotton in Liverpool, through the late export of gold from England.)

The Free Traders don't seem to see, that one man imports goods into the United States, and another man exports produce from the United States,—so that the consignor in Manchester gets no advance, in case his goods are sold at 30 per cent. loss, from the consideration that the same cause reduced American Wheat, imported by the Liverpool Merchant 30 per cent. also. The latter is indeed an evil to the English manufacturer, because it tends to cut the

throat of his best customer, the Home and Colonial trade, (which is based on agriculture.)

Now if the American had no fear of the export of Gold, the *Importer* would have the *currency evils* removed from the category of his difficulties, he could afford to give a greater price in Manchester when *Exchanges being against England*, caused the price of Gold there to rise, (as he would get his Bill of Exchange on London at a proportionate discount,) and thus the substitution of paper as a legal tender in England, is vital to the Manchester manufacturer, as is also, in a less degree, the same change being effected in America.

It is equally of vital importance, that paper be substituted for gold in America, whether the interest of the American Agricultural or Manufacturing producer is considered.

ISAAC BUCHANAN,
Formerly President of the Boards of Trade of Toronto and Hamilton, C. W., and Member for Toronto in the first Parliament of United Canada.

P. S. Let me, to prevent misconception, shortly recapitulate the views I formerly explained, of what ought to be done in *monetary reform*, premising that the greatest advantage will flow from our closely adhering to *defined terms*, in monetary and currency discussions. *Money* means the emblems issued by Government, whether these be paper or metal, if made by law a legal tender. *Currency* means the issues of Banks or individuals, which we are not bound to receive in acquittance of a debt due to us. *Money* therefore is Currency, but *Currency* (properly so called) is only *Money* if the *Receiver* chooses.

1st. I think that in all countries, the paper money should represent a certain amount of gold only when that gold is at a certain price, (for instance in England I would have the note which we make a legal tender to bear "the Treasury or Bank of England in lieu of this pound note, have laid up gold and will pay 5 dets. and 3 grains when the price of gold is £3 17s. 10½d., paying proportionably less gold when the price of gold rises, and proportionably more when the price of gold falls, the amount of these paper evidences of the deposit of gold, being gradually increased as gold rises, and gradually decreased to the extent gold falls in price.")

2nd. I think that in England no change is absolutely necessary, except to compel the Bank of England to hold never less than Ten Millions of gold, to which amount, or as much more as she holds in gold and silver, she would be entitled to issue paper, which I would by Law make a legal tender, redeemable not as at present, at an ounce of gold for £3 17s. 10½d., but at the quantity of gold indicated by its market price as above. To fix the price at which Gold could be demanded, Parliament might appoint Five London Merchants, superior to all Government and Bank influence, as Commis-

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price of Gold in the *London Gazette*, and in all
the large towns of the United Kingdom.

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CRUEL EFFECTS OF THE FIXED STANDARD ON THE BANKS, AND THROUGH THEM ON THE PUBLIC, ESPECIALLY ON THE PRODUCER :

*Being a Note written by Mr. Isaac Buchanan,
to the principal Financiers of the United
States and Canada, in sending them his
"Jottings on the Currency."*

POST'S BUILDINGS, N. Y., March, 1848.

Mr. Isaac Buchanan presents his compliments
to _____ and takes the liberty to bring
before him some views on the subject of gold
and other specie.

These were written with no further object,
than to send to an influential member of the
English Committee of Parliament on the cur-
rency, but were afterwards printed to put in
the hands (per *Britannia*) of all the members of
that committee, and of many bankers and others
who are to come before it.

Mr. Buchanan is confident that the internal
trade of no country, (whose exports do not
vastly exceed its imports) can be secure from
periodical distrust and perpetual uncertainty,
except by gold being allowed (in reference to
bank notes) to fluctuate in price, according to
the law of supply and demand, like every other
commodity.

At present the price* of specie at which the
bank may be called on to redeem their issues, is
fixed by law; but no law can fix the value* of
specie, so that specie, when scarce, (or in de-
mand for export,) actually becomes enhanced,
as opposed to the prices of all other things,
except bank notes—and the banks cannot issue
to a profit.

The banks, therefore, cease to issue their
usual amounts, and the little they do issue is
charged an enhanced interest, to keep down the
demand for discounts.

Now, Mr. Buchanan thinks that if specie
were permitted to rise as he proposes, (a fixed
or certain weight of gold being the legal tender
when the price of gold is at a certain price,) this
would save the country's internal trade and
monetary system from the cruel and blasting
influence on these, and on all property, of a de-
mand specie to ship, whether created by the
proceeds of foreign goods sold in New York,
or by the selling out of the public stocks by
foreigners.

This country would, by this plan, also get
all the advantage of paper money, without the
objectionable accompaniment of a bank, as the
Government of the United States would, no
doubt, keep in their own hands the prerogative
of coining paper money. A department of the
proposed mint at New York might issue the
paper evidences of deposit of specie which

* We must distinguish between price and value, in
future.

are to be a legal tender equally with gold
and silver.

The said paper money, Mr. Buchanan—it
will be observed—proposes to secure by the
full (though fluctuating) value of specie in the
market.

VIEWS OF THE AMERICANS ON THE SUBJECT OF IRRECIPROCAL FREE TRADE.

The following extracts, from an article on
the *Protective System*, in *Hunt's New York
Merchant's Magazine*, will give a very correct
idea of the view of the Americans, on the sub-
ject of Free Trade:—

"The Protective System originated with
the mother country, and was interwoven even
with our Colonial existence. When, therefore,
we separated from Great Britain, we adopted
the same policy, and turned that system, which
England had employed for her special benefit,
to our own account. This system has grown
up with us, and is essential not only to our pros-
perity, but to our independence as a nation.
We might as well dispense with our fleets and
our armies, recall our foreign ministers and
consuls, annul all treaties with foreign powers,
and repeal all laws in relation to navigation
and commerce, as yield the principle of pro-
tecting our own industry against the policy of
other nations. We might, in fact, as well give
up our national existence, as yield the great
principle on which that existence is founded,
and without which our independence could not
be maintained."

"Labour is the great source of wealth and
prosperity; and that system of policy which
stimulates industry, and gives to the labourer
the reward of his toil, is best adapted to the
wants of the country. The protective system
is purely democratic in its tendency. It fosters
industry, and enables the poor man, who has
no capital, but his own labour, no surplus but
what is found in his own sinews, to acquire a
competency to support and educate his family.
It is designed not for the few, but for the
many; and though it will be productive of the
common good, its peculiar blessings will fall
upon the labouring classes."

"But there is a sort of looseness in the
phrase 'Free Trade,' which renders this dis-
cussion embarrassing. The advocates of this
doctrine do not tell us with sufficient precision
what they mean by the phrase. If they mean
that we should take off all restrictions from
commerce, whether other nations do or not, it
is one thing; but if they mean that we should
do it towards those nations which will reciprocate
the favour, it is quite another thing. But
the phrase must imply a trade which is mutu-
ally beneficial, or it must not. If it does not
imply a trade that is mutually unrestricted and
mutually beneficial, that is a good reason for
rejecting it. I have not made sufficient pro-
ficiency in the science of political non-resistance
to advocate a system of trade which enriches

other nations by impoverishing us. I cannot consent to open our ports, duty free, to those nations which threw every embarrassment in the way of our commerce. My political creed does not require me to love other nations better than my own. But if Free Trade implies a trade mutually advantageous, I am willing to adopt it; but this can never be done by taking off all commercial restrictions. If the trade is to be mutually beneficial, it must not only imply a reciprocity in commercial regulations, but a similarity in condition."

"We, as a nation, are peculiarly situated. We are separated from the Old World by distance, and by the nature of our institutions. Our leading characteristic is, that our citizens are freemen, and are labourers. The nature of our institutions tends to elevate the working classes, and to secure to the labourer an ample remuneration for his toil. This raises the price of labour—it makes the labourer a man. So long as we retain this our national characteristic, by protecting our own industry, our country will be prosperous. But let the pleasing but delusive doctrines of Free Trade obtain in our land—let that policy under which we have grown up and prospered be abandoned, and let us open our ports to the fabrics of those nations whose hardy labourers can obtain but a shilling a-day, and board themselves, and it requires no spirit of prophecy to predict the embarrassment and distress which would ensue. When our navigators are driven from the ocean, and our manufacturers and mechanics from their mills and their workshops, and all are compelled to cultivate the soil, the beauties of Free Trade would be realized. We might have agricultural products, but we should have no market. BEING DEPENDENT UPON OTHER NATIONS FOR MANY OF THE COMFORTS OF LIFE, AND AT THE SAMETIME DEPRIVED OF A MARKET FOR OUR PRODUCE, WE SHOULD BE COMPELLED TO TOIL FOR A MERE PITTANCE, AND SHOULD, LIKE TANTALUS IN THE FABLE, PERISH IN THE MIDST OF AGRICULTURAL PLENTY." (CANADIAN FARMERS LISTEN to this.)

"Our manufacturers, therefore, must abandon their business altogether, or the price of labour must come down to the European standard. Is this desirable? Do the Free Trade men wish to see the hardy labourers of this country reduced to the necessity of toiling fourteen or sixteen hours a day, for the paltry sum of 1s., exclusive of board? This is the European rate of wages, as appears from a Report made to the English Parliament, in 1840. We will give a brief statement of the price of wages, as gathered from that Report:—

"Average Prices, per week of the Handloom Weavers in Europe, including the Weavers of Silk, Cotton, Linen, and Woollen, in all their varieties, exclusive of board—

Great Britain.....	8s 0d	per week.
Switzerland.....	7 0	
Switzerland,	5 7	"

Belgium.....	6 0	per week
Austria.....	3 0	"
Saxony.....	2 1	"

These are the average prices given for adult male labourers, female labour being from 30 to 80 per cent. less. Here is a picture of foreign labour in 1846. But, low as these prices are, it appears by a Report to Parliament, in 1841, that the prices had fallen at least 10 or 12 per cent. from the preceding year. We ask, again, whether the friends of Free Trade, who profess to be the friends of the people, are desirous of seeing the free, independent labourers of this country brought down to the European standard—to the miserable pittance of eight or ten pence a day? A greater evil could not be inflicted on our citizens—a more withering calamity could not befall our country. The wealth of a nation consists principally in the labour of its citizens; and, as a general thing, there can be no surer test of national prosperity, than the price that labour will command."

"ABOVE ALL, WE ARE IN FAVOUR OF THE PROTECTIVE SYSTEM, BECAUSE IT PROMOTES THE INTEREST OF THE LABOURERS OF THE COUNTRY. THIS, AFTER ALL, IS THE INTEREST WHICH REQUIRES MOST PROTECTION. The rich man can rely upon his money for his support. If the times are hard, *his money becomes more valuable*, as it will command a better interest, and furnish him more of the comforts and luxuries of life. But to the poor man, the labourer, who has no capital but his ability to toil—to such a one a prostration of business is absolute ruin. Now, as the protective policy is calculated to revive business, and give the labourer the due reward to his toil, we regard it as the poor man's system—as his rightful inheritance.

"This system has already done much for the poor man. There is no article of clothing which goes into the consumption of the poor man's family so extensively as cottons in various forms; and this policy has reduced the price of common cotton cloth more than three-quarters. Those shirtings which in 1816 would cost thirty cents per yard can now be purchased for six cents; and other cottons have fallen nearly in the same proportion. We commend this to the special consideration of those who eat their bread in the sweat of their brow, who constitute the great mass of the people.

"We say, in conclusion, that Congress not only possess the power to lay protective duties, but the good of the country demands the exercise of this power. So thought the 'father of his country'—so thought the patriots and sages of the revolution. And shall the mere theorists of this day, with their refined closet-dreams, lead us from the paths which our fathers have trod, and which experience has shown us to be paths of wisdom and prosperity?

"Every feeling of national honour, every dictate of patriotism, every interest in the country, cries out against it."

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